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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

S. H. GAY,
OLIVER JOHNSON, } .... Editors.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, Corresponding Editor.

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THE STANDARD.

TWENTY-FIRST[*] ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

REPORTED BY WM. H. BURR.

The Twenty-first Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Broadway Universalist Church, on Wednesday, May 10th. The church, at the hour of meeting, was well filled. After a voluntary on the organ, the President, Mr. Garrison, called the Society to order, and announced that, in accordance with the programme, selections would now be read from the Scriptures by the Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse.

Selections from the Scriptures were then read by Mr. May, who also offered prayer; after which, the congregation united in singing a hymn composed by Mrs. Follen.

Francis Jackson, the Treasurer of the Society, then gave the following abstract of the Annual Report, which, he said, was certified by Jas. S. Gibbons, cashier of the Ocean Bank.

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR.

From Donations, sale of Pamphlets, &c., and Subscriptions to Anti-Slavery Standard, and balance from last year	$11,105 29

EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR.

For Lecturing Agents, Publishing Anti Slavery Standard and Pamphlets	8,729 00
Balance on hand	$2,376 29

The report, by unanimous consent, was laid upon the table, to be taken up at the business meeting.

Mr. Garrison then said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: This is the twentieth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I do not propose to go into any extended preliminary remarks, but simply to say, at the outset, that the object of this Society remains unchanged, and our purpose is as it was at the beginning. We make no side issue with this nation, or with the slave power which governs it, as absolutely as any plantation at the South is governed; but, declaring our eternal hostility to it, entering into no compromises with it, and making no attempts at conciliation thereof, we are resolved on its utter destruction, vindicating in the slave every human being living on the face of the earth, undaunted by anything that may occur seemingly in favour of that power to which I have alluded, and resolved to continue to the end, come what may. We know, and you know, and the slaveholders know, and the slave, and all in this world, and in heaven, and in hell, know that we are right in vindicating the rights of man for every human being on this earth; and that only the base, or the blind, or the bigoted, or the unscrupulous, or the time-serving, or the bloody-minded, are against us and our glorious position.

In regard to the work to be done, there are hundreds of thousands of slaves that have been added, since this Society was organized, to the old stock, who are waiting for deliverance at our hands. At this moment the last great crime of the nation is about to be perpetrated; but the end is not yet. The liberties of this country have been betrayed, sacrificed, trampled in the dust. No man can stand up in any part of our country, and say before God, truthfully, "I live in a free land, where I enjoy all the rights which God vouchsafed to me by my very nature." On all hands there are those who are conspiring to crucify liberty and to seal this nation over to destruction. It is for you, and me, and all of us, to see that such traitors are met; that those enemies of God and man are unmasked; that no compromise, in any shape, for any purpose, or for any time, is made with the demon spirit of Slavery in this land. In regard to all in the Church or in the State found sympathizing with the oppressor, our duty is plain—in the name of Jesus Christ to declare they cannot be Christians, and in the name of genuine republicanism to affirm that they belong to those who sympathize only with the despots of the human race in all parts of the world.

> "Lay the base usurpers low;
> Tyrants fall in every foe;
> Liberty 's in every blow;
> Let us do or die"

(great applause). I have now the pleasure of introducing to you the Rev. Wm. H. Furness, of Philadelphia.

MR. FURNESS'S SPEECH.

Mr. President: I so sincerely deprecate the expectation of a speech from me on this occasion, that although it is not exactly in good taste to begin with talking about one's self, yet, I must be allowed to say that I have come hither, on this occasion, not so much to make a speech as to take sides. It appears to me it is not a question of speeches, or whether a man can speak well or ill, or not at all, but that this is the question, namely, on what side he is; and I thank those gentlemen who have invited me hither, for the opportunity of committing myself again and irretrievably to the great cause of humanity (applause). Besides, I am a timid man, and I like to be on the safe side and on the strong side (applause). I do not think I have courage enough to be, or to appear to be, on the pro-slavery side, though I should have the President, his Cabinet and all Congress to back me (laughter). And besides, again, it is difficult to make a speech. When I am in the pulpit I have notes before me, and there is a restraining grace there; but upon this free platform it is difficult to speak in any measured terms upon Slavery; and at the present time, when we think what is doing at Washington, it seems to me that if any man who has a heart in his bosom rises and attempts to speak on the subject, his words must die away in a shriek of horror and indignation (applause).

I recollect, thirty or forty years ago (and nearly all who are old enough to remember so far back have a similar recollection), that when the subject of Slavery was mentioned our elders used to shake their heads, look grave, and say: "Ah! there is the danger; that is the thing which is going to work the ruin of this country; that is the black cloud which will grow bigger and bigger, and at last send out terrible lightning to dash to pieces the fabric of American freedom." This was the universal anticipation; a fearful looking for of deadly mischief from that quarter; and the way and the form in which the mischief expected was to come, was by insurrection. It was expected the blacks would increase to such a degree that they would at last rise upon their masters; that the terrors of St. Domingo would be re-enacted here on a larger and more frightful scale; and that a war between the two races would be begun, which would probably terminate in the establishment of a black empire over nearly one-half of the country. That dread of insurrection has now almost entirely died away. It does not appear to be feared that the slaves will ever rise of themselves; and the reckless determination with which Slavery seeks to enlarge her borders more and more, looking with a greedy eye on Mexico, Cuba, the River Amazon, and the remotest parts of the earth, shows how distant that day is, in the apprehension of the South, when the blacks may rise.

I am free to admit that I think there is very little danger of an insurrection; and for two reasons: First, the character of the coloured race themselves, so gentle and so docile. The fact that nearly four millions of them have been kept under such unmitigated despotism, and have never made any attempt to strike it off, creates a strong presumption that they never will rise. The second fact, which is our protection against insurrection, is the existence of the Abolitionists. Abolition at the North is the protection of the Southern slave-master. I know that the title Abolitionist is looked on as but another word for incendiary and fire-brand; but the existence of the Abolitionists is either known among the slaves or it is not. If not, then the Abolitionists exert no influence on the slaves one way or another, for good or for harm. If their existence is known, then they are known as the friends of the slaves, and naturally, according to every principle of human nature, they are induced to wait patiently, knowing that they have friends in the country who are labouring for them.

Our rulers talk insanely about putting down Abolitionists. Put them down, silence every word in behalf of human rights and of common humanity at the North; and then, if ever, look for insurrection, when all hope for the slave is cut off from every quarter but from himself.

But, although there is so little prospect of insurrection, or any danger to the country from that quarter, it does not by any means follow that Slavery can do us no evil; for it has done and is doing us the very greatest mischief. While we were looking out for Slavery to produce its evil consequences in insurrection, it has been eating out the heart and conscience of the nation: working the decay of the spirit of liberty. A country with such free institutions as this cannot exist but by a passionate and supreme love of liberty burning in every heart; and it is now come to this, that we know not the distinction between freedom and Slavery, as is seen from any of the objections that have been urged against the cause of abolition; as, for instance, when we are charged with being abstractionists—with being zealous and fanatical for an abstraction. What is the abstraction? It is the golden rule of Christianity, the natural law of human justice, the only thing from the beginning of the world never questioned. The existence of God has been denied: the doctrine of immortality has been questioned; the existence of the outward world has been speculated upon and denied; but the natural law of Justice, the golden rule, has never been questioned. This is the abstraction about which the Abolitionists are charged with being too zealous!

Again: they have been charged with interference; they have been accused of being meddlesome. Why, their doctrine is to put an end to interference; it is Slavery that really interferes; that interferes most cruelly with men and most impiously with God, lording it over God's heritage.

Then, again, what a decay of the spirit of liberty is revealed at this present juncture, when the country is overwhelmed by this iniquitous Nebraska bill, the most melancholy thing about which is the general insensibility of the people! It seems to me, if we felt rightly, all the business of this great City would be suspended, and men would flock together in masses to express their outraged sense of justice and freedom. Not as a clergyman, not as a Christian, but as a man—and as a man laying no great claim to humanity—in the name of the Almighty, and no other name, I protest against the Nebraska bill (great applause). First, and mainly, not because it allows Slavery in the Territory of Nebraska, but because it does not solemnly, with every possible sanction, forbid the introduction of Slavery into that Territory (loud applause). And, in the next place, because it is a mockery and an outrage of the very principle it professess to support, namely, popular sovereignty. What is the worth of that principle which is qualified by the colour of the skin? What is that liberty which claims the right to violate liberty? What right can be established to trample on human rights?

Some eight or ten years ago we were all looking to Europe for a grand social revolution. We expected that the great cause of human rights would enter into deadly struggle with despotic power. And how is it now? There is a war there; but we hear not one whisper of any popular cause. It is a war of Kings and Governments. My friends, it could not be so if this country were only true to its character and its destiny. We have the forms of a republic, but in fact we are becoming a great barbarian empire, whose main traffic is in human beings (applause). And, under these circumstances, if, as they say, Slavery is necessary; if, as they contend, it must always exist, as it has always existed, then there is nothing left for us but to say that it is necessary, and must exist forever. We must bind our hearts and consciences to it so that the voices pleading for the slave shall be, in this nation, like the voice of fate, sounding for ever in our ears!

But, as I said in the beginning, I did not rise to make a speech. I beg simply to say, I believe I am the only one of the speakers not belonging to this Society; that I am here by their invitation, by which I feel greatly honoured. In stating this fact—that I do not belong to the Society—I do not wish to be understood as disclaiming their fellowship—far from it. But, as the pastor of a Christian Church, I consider myself as already belonging to an Abolition Society, *ex-officio* (applause); and that every Church in the land is, in principle—in the ideal—an Abolition Society; although it must be confessed, with sorrow and shame, the great majority are very unfaithful Abolitionists (applause).

Mr. Garrison—I very deeply regret to announce to the audience that our esteemed friend, Theodore Parker, of Boston, will not be with us to-day to address this assembly. I have in my hand a letter from him, received yesterday, in regard to the event which keeps him away. I am sure that the disappointment will be very great and very general, but it is unavoidable. He says:

"A melancholy death of a young mother has just happened among my friends, which makes it impossible for me to go to New York. I regret that I cannot speak at the meeting, for I have much to say which burns in my heart until it gets spoken. But the audience will lose nothing; for even the Anti-Slavery party has seldom had such an array of talent and eloquence in a single meeting."

The funeral which our friend is called to attend is transpiring probably at this very time, and hence the impossibility of his being here. I am happy, however, to say that, beyond all doubt, on Friday evening he will speak at the Anniversary of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, at the Tabernacle (applause).

A Hymn was then sung.

Mr. Garrison then said: I have the pleasure of next introducing to the audience one of that proscribed class in our country, a very large proportion of whom are held as chattels personal, and the other portion are treated as lepers who ought to be ejected from all "healthy organizations" and trampled under foot; one who passes for a coloured man in our country, and if he be a coloured man, aye, and a black man, who of us is white! What reason he has for pleading here personally that Slavery may be overthown, I will tell you by giving you an instance of this kind, which is a very common affair at the South. One of the New Orleans papers says:

"Isaac Goodwin, free man of colour; for coming into the State contrary to law, sentenced to one year at hard labour in the penitentiary.

"James Turney, free man of colour; for coming into the State in contravention of law, sentenced to one year at hard labour in the penitentiary."

The crime is for a man to stand on the soil of Louisiana, aye, a man! In old Massachusetts, thank God, Robert Purvis is eligible to the highest office in the gift of the people (applause)—and is protected by the constitution—at least if he will not travel to Louisiana he is protected—but when he gets there, he is arrested for being a free man of colour, and thrust into prison to work out a year of hard labour, and then what? To be liberated? To be permitted to make his escape from that honourable State? No, but to be melted into the mass of slaves, never again to appear among men as a man. I introduce to you Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa.

MR. PURVIS'S SPEECH.

Mr. President: The remarks you have employed in introducing me to this audience excites a feeling in my mind scarcely ever dormant in the terrible ordeal through which we are passing every moment of our existence, in the presentation to-day of that state of things which victimizes us by a cruel and relentless prejudice. This, Sir, is hard, very hard to bear; for, with due deference to modesty, we live in the consciousness of our rights and our manhood.

But, Mr. President, you have said that this is the twentieth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but, Sir, through this long lapse of years in which anti-Slavery truth has been preached according to the gospel of this Society, we feel to-day the necessity of yet presenting to the American people the plain and just demands we make upon them. Is it not passing strange that there is as yet needed from the people of this country a practical recognition of the fact that the coloured man is a man, and as such is entitled to equal rights, with other men? But, Sir, we have well-grounded hope in the history of past success and the present aspect of our cause, that our cause will yet triumph. I beg leave, Sir, to offer, as an expression of my views upon this point, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the contrast between the present aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause and as it presented itself twenty-three years ago, is in the highest degree cheering—that the change which has taken place in public sentiment on the subject of the coloured man's right, as evinced in the tone of the newspaper press, and in the character of the current literature of the day, is such as to inspire the friends of the cause with the liveliest satisfaction, and to produce the conviction in the minds of all careful observers that a mighty revolution is going steadily on in this country, that will result, and that at no distant day, in the utter overthrow of American Slavery, and the restoration to the coloured man of the rights of which he has been so long robbed.

We all recollect the effect of the first declaration of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and how the man who startled this guilty nation by the bold avowal of that doctrine had large rewards offered for his head, and was incarcerated in a southern prison. The gathered energy and spirit of that philanthropy, penetrating the walls of Slavery, said, "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard" (applause). That these pledges, made in the full confidence of an abiding trust in the power of truth and God, have been faithfully redeemed, no argument is needed to show. The trials and persecutions, and sacrifices of property, of liberty and life, have shown that those men who entered this cause were not to be turned aside by threats. We may be personally defeated; our principles never. Their reason, justice and humanity will and must gloriously triumph. And that there has been a triumph both of the principles and of the persons who advocated them, our presence here to-day is not among the smallest evidences.

I will not attempt to weary the patience of this audience by a recital of facts that have fallen under the observation of all in proof of the progress which our principles have made in this country; but you will allow me to refer to a single one and a significant one in the rebounding of public sentiment overwhelming in defeat, disgrace and moral death the Irish miscreant, John Mitchel (applause)—a man who longs for a southern plantation stocked with healthy negroes, and who blasphemously associates in his infernal opposition to human liberty the sacred names of St. Paul and Jesus Christ (applause). Sir, this braggart traitor to liberty has met with a repulse which, while it was an index of the advancement of our principles in the public mind, will be a warning to any unprincipled foreign adventurers who may hastily prostrate their servile souls to the slaveholding spirit of our land (applause). This John Mitchel is a disgrace to your City, and his presence would be a curse anywhere (applause).

Pardon, Sir, somewhat of feeling on this subject. I became a member of an association of coloured persons in Philadelphia whose object was, by contributions and otherwise to promote the Repeal movement in Ireland ("hear, hear"). We felt for Ireland as we believe no other class in the country could ("hear, hear"). We sympathized with her in her distresses, in the wrongs and outrages inflicted upon her. We contributed our money and our personal efforts to assist her in the overthrow of what we conceived to be a galling despotism. But, Sir, could we have believed for a single moment, could it ever have entered our minds, that the leaders in that movement were such men as your Mitchel and your Meagher, how much sympathy do you think we could have shown for that cause? I couple the name of Meagher with that of Mitchell, because according to his own confession, it will be three years before he will be enabled to determine whether he will be a man when he becomes an American citizen (applause). In other words, this liberty-loving patriot will then decide whether his influence shall be for or against native born Americans, many of whom are descendants of those who shed their blood in the revolutionary struggle, and of those who subsequently, in important crises and perilous times, have shown their unfailing devotion to the interests of this country in maintaining its liberties and securing a refuge even for such vagabonds as these (great applause).

Mr. President: It is hard to bear up against the trials and persecutions which our cause has to encounter from our own countrymen; it is hard to endure the insult and ingratitude of Americans; but, God helping us, we will defy them all, and we will look with pitying contempt upon all insults to freedom, whether from the foes or the apostates of liberty, whether foreign or domestic, whether exhibited in that rare specimen of superlative impudence, John Mitchel, or in the unscrupulous demagogueism of that traitor to humanity and to his country, Stephen Arnold Douglas (loud and long continued applause), a man who would offer up to the bloody Moloch of Slavery the unpolluted and virgin soil of a territory larger than the original thirteen States (applause).

Sir, these things should only stir us to renewed zeal and devotion to the cause of freedom, for, after all, there is no mistaking their tendency. The signs of the times are brighter than ever before. A series of articles has lately appeared in that widely influential journal, the *New York Tribune*, calculating the value of the Union ("hear, hear"). The doctrine of disunion, which this Society has so often expressed and maintained amid censure and opprobrium, is finding its way into the hearts and minds of men. The sentiment of freedom is abroad in the whole world. The despotic thrones of Europe are shaking to their very foundations, and the spirit of liberty is animating and arousing men everywhere to do their duty. For more than three hundred consecutive nights, the popular and faithful drama of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has been performed in your city, in obedience to the demand of the public, and still that demand keeps up. Such signs are not to be mistaken; they are an index to the progress of the cause of Human Freedom.

But I will not detain you with any further remarks. In the language of the resolution I have submitted, I repeat, "that a mighty revolution is going steadily on in this country, that will result—and that at no distant day—in the utter overthrow of American Slavery." The day is not far distant, we confidently hope and believe, when the soil of this country will be unpolluted by a single stain of Slavery (applause).

Mr. Furness begged to be allowed to state, as Mr. Purvis was a fellow-citizen of his, that he had a reputation of being a man of wealth; at all events, he was rich enough to have purchased an alliance with whiter complexion; but he chose, to his great credit, to identify himself with the coloured race.

Mr. Garrison—My friend, Mr. Purvis, made allusion to the case of the Irish refugee, John Mitchel. It is difficult to look far enough down to be able to find one who has sunk so low. But do you want to know how far the South has fallen, or a portion of it? Do you want to see the last evidence of the fact that the slave power feels at length that it is time to clutch, like a drowning man, even at a straw to save itself from sinking? Hitherto we have heard a great deal about Southern chivalry, Southern dignity and Southern self-respect. In times past these traits of character have been strongly exhibited on various occasions, so that when any Northern dough-face has undertaken to pay court grossly to Slavery, the slaveholders have invariably spit upon him and spurned him as one almost too base for them to touch even with their feet. But now, when John Mitchel comes over here and gets down, not on all fours, but on his belly (laughter), and attempts to curry favour of that demoniac power which governs us all, is he spit upon as, judging from the past, we had reason to suppose he would be by Southern slaveholders? No; in their great extremity, they are glad to have even one so low and worthless as himself to keep them in countenance; and it is only the other day since the Legislature of Louisiana sent him a letter of compliment for his base servility, and offering him an ovation if he would only go to Louisiana—a thing unprecedented in the history of the American State legislation. A State legislature gets down as low as John Mitchel. Southern statesmen can no longer be chivalrous, but are willing to welcome apostates even of a baser kind than they formerly spurned and despised.

I have another announcement to make to the audience, which I regret equally with that which I made with regard to our friend Theodore Parker. Our friend Miss Lucy Stone, who was announced to speak on the present occasion, is compelled, by a series of calamities that have rendered her presence here impossible, to disappoint you to-day. We never advertise at our meetings that persons are *expected* to speak, or that any will speak who have not previously stipulated that they will, if possible, be on hand, and so we are ourselves disappointed as well as the audience that has assembled.

Miss Stone, in a letter addressed to us, says:

"My brother and his wife have gone to see her mother, who is very sick, and have left the children for us to care for. We have no help in the family. On the same evening my dear old mother, stepping in the dark, stumbled and fell, her whole weight coming on her head and face, which were dreadfully stunned and bruised. It seems to be imperative, therefore, that I shall stay here. I wanted, for various reasons, to be at the Anniversary, and regret more than I can express the chapter of misfortunes which compels me to stay at home. You can say to any one who cares to ask, that I am unavoidably absent. I hope you will have such an Anniversary as the hour demands."

Mr. G. then introduced to the audience Wendell Phillips.

MR. PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I should feel great regret to stand here now, in any sense, in the place of the speaker whose absence has just been apologized for, did I not feel, as our friend Mr. Furness has expressed himself, that this is not a meeting for speeches, but to take sides in a great moral controversy, and that our only purpose and expectation here is, not to tickle your ears with eloquence, but to tell a plain, unvarnished tale, and to endeavour to arrest the attention of a great nation to the greatest of all possible wrongs.

You will allow, friends, at any rate, that in the letter that has just been read to you, Miss Stone, the well-known advocate of human rights and of woman's rights, at least vindicates herself most emphatically from the charge of neglect of her home to-day (laughter and applause). You will have it to say, also, and the memory will be impressed upon you by your own disappointment, that she feels the weight and responsibility of her domestic relations as tenderly and as fully as those who are not accustomed to occupy this platform; and hereafter, whenever the charge is made against the champions of this cause, you will at least do her the justice to recollect that she once disappointed you on such an occasion as this.

Mr. President, this is indeed a marked occasion, and I cannot even commence any remarks upon the general aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause until I have called your attention to the singular fact, and one indicative certainly of much of that hope to which Mr. Purvis has alluded, that we are met here for the first time within my memory in the City of New York, on an Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in a church, in a building consecrated exclusively to religious exercises, and known only as one representing the religious sentiment. You may not view this as much, but straws show which way the wind blows. It is a great thing that recent events have done for us when they have stirred so deeply the public sentiment, even here in the City of New York, in this great commercial capital, in a community whose streets roar with the din of trade, and whose heart is eaten out with money, that the Anti-Slavery cause has not gone backward, but has gained ground. If you had served seventeen years, as it has been my fortune to do in so many great centres of American life, and found the doors of every religious edifice shut against you, you would give more importance to the fact than, perhaps, you are at present ready to do, that the doors of a religious edifice are open to us, and that we meet under the express sanction of Christianity.

It is an "infidel" society, ladies and gentlemen, whose anniversary you this day attend; it is a "treasonable" society that is met here to-day. You shall go elsewhere, this very week, in this city and in many other parts of the country, where Anti-Slavery sentiments are uttered; you shall go to Congress and attend the meetings of an efficient debating Anti-Slavery society in the House of Representatives; but there is a character which attaches to this society. It is an "infidel" society; it is a "treasonable" Anti-Slavery society, whose anniversary you countenance by your presence to-day.

I mention this fact at the beginning because we count these epithets no insult, but cling to them as our most fitting characteristic, and we claim of history that she should never overlook them, but that she should do us the justice to hand them down to posterity as our only claim to the gratitude of those who are to come after us (applause). At a time when the influential and respectable pulpits of New York were not willing or did not dare to pray for the abolition of Slavery; at a time when large classes of respectable and influential men with hearts in their bosoms could see so much of authority in human laws or so much of value in political institutions that they stopped faltering at a half-way line in their hostility to Slavery, and dared not attack it when it sheltered itself behind the Constitution of the United States, though we had no other offering to lay on the altar of human liberty, we laid this: A willingness to believe that Christianity, no matter how dark the hour, never could sanction Slavery—that the New Testament, no matter how many doctors of divinity stood before it, had no line on its pages that could make a human slave, or authorize another to be a slaveholder—that human laws, however venerable, ancient or important to the material interests of society, never ought to be, never could be binding when they put a fetter on a single human being. That is our creed; and, in the few moments that I am to address you, having shown you the length and breadth of our offence intentionally, I want to endeavour to prove to you that harsh as these sentences sound, they are not unchristian, however infidel they may be to American Christianity; that they are not disorganizing, however illegal they may at first appear; that couched under them is the only hope and remedy for the system of American Slavery; and that we have not disturbed the community unnecessarily by adopting too radical principles or covered any more ground than we ought to have done. In a word, I wish to prove to you that the society which meets here this morning, and which you have graced with your presence, is one that really believes that there is no help for the American slave except in a total revolution in the religious institutions of the country and a total destruction of the political arrangements of the land.

This is a Disunion society; and for one I am glad and proud to profess my creed at a moment like this, dark enough for mere politicians, dark enough for any one who has looked for the success of the Anti-Slavery cause in the established institutions of the country, for they have failed. It is not too much to say, to-day, that political Anti-Slavery has failed. It commenced with Washington and Jefferson. It commenced with the fathers of the republic. They were Anti-Slavery in the sense of their day. They hated the slave trade; they shrank back from the basis of the slave system itself; but they had not an utter faith in the safety of doing right. They could not trust in justice as the highest expediency. They dared not launch boldly on that pathless sea, doing justice to each human being, confident that when God established justice, He saw to it that it would be safety; but they provided a little city—"is it not a little one?" they said—a refuge of compromises, a half-way attempt, as much as they dared. Disheartened by seven years' war, they clipped off a few outer branches of the slave system. They shrunk from the sentiment of the civilized world on the subject of the slave trade, but looked forward to the abolition of it after the lapse of twenty years; and having thus held off the evil at arms' length, they sat down before their own firesides and enjoyed the material prosperity which a prudent sagacity had secured for the present, and the country prospered. In the meanwhile Slavery grew strong—strong enough to warp aside what was right in the Constitution—to smother out of sight what was wrong—and to make even a greater use than had been expected of what was compromised; and gradually she has taken fort after fort, barrier after barrier, defence after defence which the fathers erected, until to-day she stands with her plume of conquest floating over the untouched Territory of Nebraska, sure if victory is not recorded to-day, it will be to-morrow—if not this session, it will be next; for when has the South failed; when, in any political crusade, has she ever been beaten?

The *Tribune*, this morning, in an article of great courage, of noble enthusiasm, of generous and even reckless daring, begins by saying that if the Nebraska iniquity is consummated, the North will go on to resist as she has begun! (Applause). O, that is an ominous prophecy, "She will resist as she has begun." Well, she began with twenty majority on the 21st of March against the scheme, and to-day she stands with twenty majority in its favour. She has begun by being bribed and bullied. Will she go on so? [A voice, "Yes."] There has been no beginning of effectual resistance yet. When we have defeated at least one pro-slavery aggression, when we have laid one conspiracy against justice in an unexpected grave, then we will plant a green sod over it, and write upon the whitest marble the immortal epitaph, "The North; she has begun to resist aggression" (applause). But do not tell us, at the very moment when the proclamation comes from Washington that the Government has bought up enough to secure its triumph, that the North will resist as she has begun. What is this North? It is the controlling element of the country; controlling not only by virtue of a vast numerical, but by virtue of a vast moneyed majority. It educates the country, it furnishes schoolmasters, it writes books for the whole States. It is in fact the Government of the Union. The South are but the slave overseers; the North are the slaveholders of the Union in the true sense of the word. We have no right to lay upon southern shoulders the fault of Texas annexation or anything else that the government has done. The South could not have annexed Texas if she had not first gained the North. She never could have achieved a single triumph in the whole career of her conquests if she had not first gained the North. The South rules by the North, and the responsibility for Slavery must be sought north of Mason and Dixon's line. The intellect, the enterprise, the culture, the money of the country are here. The majority is here; every element of political strength is here; therefore we are responsible for every act of the Government.

I have said that political Anti-Slavery has failed. It has done its best, and I am not here to find fault with it. It has done its best under Washington, Jefferson, Rutledge, Lee, Luther Martin, Alexander Hamilton, and under a greater and better than all, John Jay (applause). It has done its best under the great men of succeeding epochs down to our own day, which is the day of little men (laughter). Mr. Garrison thought we could strain our optics to see down to the depth to which an unhappy Irishman has descended. We of New England are as sharpsighted as the sailor that has been long at sea, and with eyes bleared with tears we have fathomed a deeper depth than that to find our own Everett and our Webster (applause). We are accustomed to look down deeper far than the depth to which the unfortunate victim of Irish oppression has sunk. My friend Purvis said he had been led to believe that Ireland had suffered from the British Government, and he spoke in language as if he now doubted it. I do not doubt it. Ireland has sent us one of her chosen apostles, and British tyranny has been so weighty and so bitter that it has crushed his manhood out of him (laughter and applause). He is the best and most living apostle against the British Government, for it has written all over his moral nature what a dreadful land the Irish live in if he is a specimen of its apostles (renewed laughter). But don't let us rejoice too hastily, for New England from which some of us come, I have always been accustomed to regard as the Ireland of the empire. The manhood is crushed out of our public men, and when we send them to Washington they are John Mitchels all over (laughter). Yes, we are the Ireland of the empire. When has boasted New England, with her pulpits, her schools, her literature, her education of every kind, moral and intellectual, sent from beneath the religious or political institutions of any of her six States a single man, who, unless he was covered all over with Anti-Slavery unpopularity, has been truer to liberty on the national arena than John Mitchel has been here? Our Adams, our Sumner, have spoken bold words for liberty, but it was not until the great and respectable classes of the Whig party had kicked them out of their companionship; it was not until they had been baptized into an Anti-Slavery minority that made them hateful; it was not until they had graduated from a New England college of Anti-Slavery discipline and taken their degrees under President Garrison that they spoke out in behalf of liberty (applause).

But let me pause a moment upon that charge, which many of you will think very harsh, and see whether I am exaggerating. I choose to speak of my own section of the country; I know it better than I do yours. It does equally well to illustrate the influence of American institutions, and you will know whether I do it any injustice when I place the facts before you. I placed just now the name of Edward Everett in juxtaposition with that of John Mitchel. I do not come here to blame Edward Everett or to say that he does not represent Massachusetts. He does. I do not come here to complain that he has betrayed Massachusetts. He has not. He represents Boston and the constituency that has sent him. He represents money and the fashionable pulpits; he represents the bank vaults of State street, and he represents Harvard College—all of them faithfully. He represents one Massachusetts—thank God there are two. I will tell you in a moment what the distinction is between them. My charge is not against him—that he misrepresents Massachusetts; but it is against this Union, and I assert that the State of Massachusetts has been made what it is by the Union, which we anathematise and endeavour to sunder. Mr. Everett has been long in public life, and he has never yet met a rebuke from Massachusetts. What right, then, has any man to say that he misrepresents her?

A slight sketch of his life will be the best introduction for the remark which I wish to make on the influence of the Union and of public opinion. I wish to bring the fault home to you, fellow-citizens, on the subject of Slavery. These men at Washington are not gods; they do not create us nor our opinions. They no not even guide public opinion; political leaders never have. They are like snakes, the tail moves the head (laughter). It is public opinion at home that dictates the speeches of the mere politician at Washington, and I ask to-day, who has a right to say that Edward Everett misrepresents Massachusetts?

Mr. Everett was formerly an occupant of a Unitarian pulpit. Harvard College tempted him from it and sent him to Greece, where he passed some six or seven years amid the classic ruins of the Republics of the Old World. He came home in 1825, I think, overflowing with the love of Grecian liberty, and his lips dewy with the Greek of Plato and the Latin of Cicero. Massachusetts could not leave him, her chosen son, fresh from these old scenes of martyrdom and of triumph, baptized in liberal Christianity and re-baptized with the baptism of the Tiber and of the Grecian seas, to the seclusion of the University, so she summoned him into politics. He went to Washington in 1826, and the first time this apostle of Unitarianism and Greek liberty opened his lips, it was to say that he had studied Christianity all his mature years, and Greek all his life, and he knew nothing in the New Testament that went against Slavery. And, though bred in the pulpit, he added that "he was ready to shoulder his musket" (perchance it may have been one that had lain in rust ever since Lexington and Bunker Hill) "and put down a slave insurrection" (cries of "Shame"). That was the first speech of the Massachusetts scholar to the assembled Congress of his country—a speech at which the noble satire of Randolph was aimed, when steeped to the lips in Virginia Slavery, he pointed his remorseless finger at the recreant Unitarian, and said: "I envy neither the head nor the heart of the man who comes here from the North to apologize for Slavery" (applause). This was the speech which your own Cambreling found so base that even he advised Mr. Everett to change his political career and devote himself to the service of the Czar (laughter).

Well, he came home and perchance you will suppose that we all turned a cold shoulder to him—that we refused to give him the right hand of welcome. John Q. Adams had done a similar deed in 1807, in voting for Jefferson's embargo, that made grass grow on the wharves of Boston; and when he came home and walked around the malls of our common, his old college mates put both hands behind them, and held their necks so stiff that you would have imagined they had lost their vertebræ. No one said to him "God bless you," from Barnstable to Berkshire. He was sent to Coventry, and, to save him from utter isolation, Jefferson sent him abroad. But Edward Everett had not made any grass grow on the wharves of Boston; but if one bone of old Samuel Adams hangs to another in his coffin, he had made them rattle against its sides (laughter). He came home, and what do you suppose we did with him? We received him with open arms and made him Governor! (Laughter.) Has he any reason to think that a pro-slavery speech in Congress is disagreeable to Massachusetts? About this time Georgia or South Carolina (I forget which) sent a letter to Massachusetts, saying that Anti-Slavery Socities were a great nuisance; that they did not like them; that they were against the Constitution, and that they ought to be put down. Gov. Everett sends the letter to the Legislature, inclosed in a message, in which he says that he has consulted legal authority and his opinion is that Anti-Slavery meetings (such meetings as were held by my friend Samuel J. May, who read from the Scriptures to-day; my friend Mr. Garrison, the President of the Society, and Dr. Follen, who had fled from the dread of a German dungeon to New England hospitality), that such meetings ought to be made indictable and punished by imprisonment. Well, that was going lower still. He had offered to shoulder the musket against a South Carolina rebellion; he was now willing to load and fire off a message against rebellious men in Massachusetts, who were asserting the right of free speech; for we in Massachusetts have always tried to fulfil the description of Alfieri, who says of his own beautiful country, Italy, that if it were a country of slaves, they should at least have the credit of being a country of rebellious slaves (laughter).

Well, what did we do again with Mr. Everett? We re-elected him Governor the next year. And when we next took him up, we recommended and besought and finally persuaded the Senate of the United States to approve his nomination to the court of St. James. And from that day to this he has been acting in the same way. He edited the speeches of Mr. Webster, and sunk out of sight all his Anti-Slavery testimony, and made him as pro-slavery as he could.

And now we have sent him to the Senate. Well, who can say that we ought to expect anything different from him. Every step that he has made in servility to the slave power has been rewarded. His own party, his predominating, influential, rich, controlling Massachusetts has not yet rebuked him. State street does not care if you plant Slavery in Nebraska and annex all Mexico, South America and China, provided you will let it make one per cent. a month in peace. State street has never yet rebuked Mr. Everett.

Now, what makes this state of things in Massachusetts? What shuts up the voice of the pulpit and prostitutes the Press? It is the bonds which bind these States together. It is the intimate communion which exists between the portions of this confederacy. It is the commercial temptation; it is the great national arena to which all broad-minded men and men of large ambition naturally tend, in which the Websters and Everetts are longing to be distinguished. It buys them up faster than nature can create them. It tempts them to mislead the people. The Union! it is a constant vortex in which the great minds of the country are swallowed, and these great minds have power enough, for the time being, over the political parties to mould their positions and sentiments, and utterly smother the Anti-Slavery protest of the public heart.

Bear with me a moment while I illustrate what I mean. There have been frequent occasions and positions in States precisely similar to our own. Switzerland is an instance; Holland is an instance—both of them situated exactly in regard to European despotism as New England is in regard to American. Let me take Holland as an illustration.

You know that the petty province of Holland rose against the Spanish Empire and vindicated its independence. The inhabitants redeemed their soil from the ocean; they actually made the very land on which they lived, and it required a great proportion of their exertions to retain that land from the ocean year after year. Now, the commerce of Holland was with England, with France, with Germany, with Spain, and with Italy. She was the great mother of eastern commerce; she led the way in the opening of new seas. So far as the great money power was concerned, Louis XIV. could bring to bear on Amsterdam and the Hague all the power that New Orleans and Charleston can bring to bear on Boston and New York. He could tempt the merchants. He could make grass grow upon their wharves, and could make their ships rot in their harbours. He could cut off their trade, could starve the common people and bankrupt the rich; and he did it for nearly a century; and yet, spite of all his efforts, although he crushed the commerce of the Dutch, although he ruined their merchants, although he covered their scanty soil almost with armies, still the love of liberty, unbroken by bankruptcy and want of bread, was strong enough in that little State, led on by a pulpit that had no temptation from gold, to defeat Louis, though he represented the money power of his age, and the monarchical element besides. The populace was ready to take ship with the Prince of Orange and actually desert their country, leave it to the waters, and found a new colony beneath the southern cross. This is what Holland could do, severed from intimate union with the great States of Europe.

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England, with the same puritanism, with the same love of liberty, with the same indignant self-respect at the commencement, has bowed her neck, time and again, so often and so vilely to the slave power is because her pulpit and her merchants have been led astray by that great political relation which has smothered the sentiments of the masses. Break off New England from this unholy compact with death and this covenant with hell, place her as Holland stood to France, to Charles the Second, to Germany and to Spain, and you shall see De Ruyters and De Witts in the land of the pilgrims; you shall yet see the spirit of the old Covenanters going into the battle field for the rights of man. This is the charge that I make against the Union: that it has done just what Louis XIV. would have done could he have made Holland a province of France. And the object of the labours of this Anti-Slavery Society in breaking down the Union is that we may place Massachusetts and New England, and New York and Ohio, and all of the free States, in the same relation to the slave power that is forming its empire about us that Holland stood so long to the monarchies of France and of England. And then in the place of Mitchels and Websters and Everetts, we will give you De Witts and De Ruyters, who shall lead a navy and an army, if necessary, in defence of justice and humanity, even though the slave power sweep into her lap Nebraska and Brazil.

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[*] Owing to a mistake, made in 1844 and never observed until now, the Anniversaries of the Society for the last ten years have been designated by a wrong number. The present one was called as the *Twentieth*. It is really the *Twenty-first*.

I am anxious to impress this truth upon you, for if there be anything written upon history it is the noble struggle of the artisans of Holland, for a whole century, against the literature and the money of a despotism similar exactly and almost as powerful as those that are leagued to-day against liberty.

I said there were two Massachusetts. There is one that sends Everett to the Senate. There is one that follows in long procession the dust of Webster to his grave; that meets year after year to celebrate his obsequies, or his birth; that is always crying "Peace," "Peace," "Let us go and make money;" that is busy at Lowell and Lawrence in making a tariff that shall fill the United States Treasury full enough to enable them with the surplus funds to buy up all the real virtue there is at Washington, and to vote for the Nebraska bill; that stands bent over her forges and looms, diligently forging her own chains. But, thank God, there is another Massachusetts; it is the Massachusetts which crowds, Sunday after Sunday, the spacious four-thousand-people-holding walls of Theodore Parker's church (great applause)—whom no broad sign of infidel blasphemy, written by a recreant church over its portals, can scare away. There is another Massachusetts, that sends Charles Sumner to fill her Webster's place (great applause)—and hopes that if he is not perfect, he is at least an improvement (laughter). There is another Massachusetts, which feels, as we do here, that it owes a deep debt to liberty and justice. Our Webster incurred it all. When he proved traitor to the North, he made the State bankrupt, so far as her debt and credit account with liberty is concerned. We put Bunker Hill, and Hancock, and Adams into one scale; we add Concord and Lexington to that scale; and yet he stood there with the hopes of millions, with the public opinion just rising of this glorious nineteenth century in his hand, and crushed it all. The great leader, in whom every hope was garnered, for whom all hearts were beating, veiled his crest and went down. The State was bankrupt; her scale kicked the beam. We are here to do what little we can in the way of protest; at least we owe a great labour to endeavour to pay these debts to liberty and justice. This Massachusetts of which we speak, she has laid his dust with its sins and sorrows in the pitying soil, and she devotes herself hereafter to undoing, if it may be, the great wrong that he did to the slave (applause). This is the other Massachusetts, and we mean to make her so restive, so disorganizing, that if the South will not go out of the Union she will kick Massachusetts out. We will not stay together; we will not assist in this great conspiracy against justice. We will not assist at any rate in this great extension of Slavery empire. Our devoted efforts shall be to break up the very formative elements, to tear up the root of this evil; to change the educational sources of the country; to make the very commencement of American life different.

I have endeavoured to describe to you Edward Everett. I tried to add no epithet of blame as I did it. I would like to have you forget the man, and think of the schools and pulpits of Massachusetts that made him. No Anti-Slavery cause is worth anything that does not undertake to change these. It is no great matter for liberty if Nebraska triumphs to-day. All political triumphs are deceptive. In the true sense of the word, to the man who believes in God, liberty is never beaten; she is always victorious. If the South adds Nebraska to her territory, in the end she only falls with a greater crash. But how soon, and what is our duty in the premises? are altogether different questions.

Let me point out to you, for a moment, the position in which we stand. It is this: This Union of which I have spoken is permanent. This Government is in constant session; it never goes away; it never intermits. Wellington, when he fought the battle of Waterloo, you will recollect, stationed a solid square of infantry in the centre of his post, six or eight deep. They stood with fixed bayonets, and no matter what cavalry, no matter how many cannon, no matter what force was brought against them, they never changed their places. If a cannon ball went through them, they closed up; if the cavalry of France made an onset and one rank was broken, on their dead bodies another stood fixed; and it was by this central anchor that, against the maddest efforts of French enthusiasm, he gained the day. Now, the Government, which is the slave power, is just like this—a hundred thousand men and twenty millions of dollars capital in constant session, with nothing else to do but to bribe Everetts, to buy up Websters, and to seduce Mitchels; with nothing else to do than create public opinion; and if it cannot be created to-day, wait till to-morrow. There it sits perpetually—no spring, no winter; no night, no day—sleepless and vigilant. If Nebraska is defeated to-day by the hot fury of the North, the Government can wait until it cools. She can say with the old English Baron, "I bide my time." If Mr. Sumner and Mr. Hale, if Mr. Greeley and Mr. Benton, if Sam Houston and the North, defeat the South to day, you cannot keep the North at a white heat forever; she cools to-morrow. The merchant goes home to his counting-room, the lawyer to his client, the doctor to his patient, the clergyman to his parish, and the flying militia of reform is dissolved; the guerrilla troops and hastily levied soldiers of reform, every man with a different motto—Sumner with his "No Slavery extension," Greeley with his patent Whigism, somebody else with his Democracy—will soon disband and go home. To-day we are melted and cohere by an enthusiastic purpose, but you cannot keep men at work forever. National interests come in. We must eat and drink, attend to business and support our families; and we go home. Meantime, the Government, unrelenting, always in session, always rich, stands ready to buy up and bully, to invent and to undermine; that is the reason why she carries all questions. She is ever there and the moment the weak hour comes she seizes it for her purpose.

A man can at times be wound up to the pitch of heroism, and fling down martyrdom under his feet, and face the stake, but a million of men are not martyrs. Martin Luther was at a burning heat all his life, and the white ashes never covered the burning enthusiasm of the pioneer of the Anti-Slavery cause (Mr. Garrison). But saints do not go in regiments, and martyrs do not travel in battalions; they come alone once in an age. You cannot create an Anti-Slavery sentiment so durable, so unrelenting, so vigilant, that the Government cannot outwit and undermine it; consequently the only way in which you can save the slave is so to arrange political circumstances that there shall be no such Government in existence.

What has the Union ever done for us? Absolutely nothing. I challenge any man to-day to tell me what it has ever done. Every one of us pays five dollars on every coat, for what? That there may be a national treasury full of gold; that great men may go to Washington to make each other Presidents. There was an old Swedish statesman that told his son to remember with how little wisdom the world was governed. The whole world must be governed with very little wisdom indeed, for this nation manages to govern without any wisdom at all. Congress is engaged year after year in making Presidents and but little else, while the slave power is engaged in nothing but getting additional territories; in the meantime the practical working Government goes along of itself. While Douglas and Cass are making Presidents, Sumner and Chase are resisting their being made. It is a regular cock-pit for the contention of champions, and the utmost success that the most sanguine lover of liberty indulges is that the battle will be a drawn one (applause). He does not hope for victory. What does Greeley hope from the Union? Why, that he will raise up a terrible North that is to do what? To defeat Nebraska, to prevent Douglas from becoming President! Well, suppose he does; Cuba is the next issue, and you will have as many Douglases to defeat as you will wait for.

My old mathematical professor at college used to say that man could not invent a perpetual motion machine, because the resistance to be overcome was always equal to the power to propel; and that the difficulty about every machine got up for that purpose was, that it would not go. Well, our Government is exactly the same; our fathers erected it and supposed it was a machine that would move perpetually in favour of liberty, while the result has been, unfortunately, that the South has been a little too powerful for the North, and so far the perpetual motion has been on the wrong side; it has ceased to move in favour of liberty. Sanguine men, like my excellent friends Sumner and Hale, have hoped that one power would neutralize the other, but thus far the Union has conferred upon us the benefit of doing nothing. For what has the Union done, I repeat? It has not manufactured cotton at Lowell; we can do this in spite of the Union. It has not dug coal from Pennsylvania; it has not raised wheat in Illinois; it has not settled the West; it has not ploughed the ocean with New York commerce. No; thank God, New York does not make money because South Carolina whips negroes. She can do it without. I proclaim my belief that a Yankee can make money even if the Southerner does not larrup his slave; that the sons of the men that fought at Bunker Hill can maintain peace in the streets of Boston, although there are no women writhing under the lash on the plantation of Louisiana. No Union to which Adams and Hancock and Jay put their hands was ever meant to have for its cement the blood of the slave (applause). And if to-day one of these men could speak to you, instead of finding fault with disunion, he would say, "Children, do us the justice to believe that we did not intend the foul trick that has been wrought upon you; that, with the experience of sixty years, we would now bid you not to hold back your hands, but to dash in fragments the proof of our only, but our fatal mistake, to blot out the only record that humanity has against our memory." It is but justice to the past to suppose they did not mean to leave us such a legacy as they have done. Do you suppose that if Samuel Adams had foreseen Webster, he would not have cut off his right hand before he would have sanctioned the American Constitution? Do you suppose that if he had foreseen Everett he would not have fainted before he would have lifted up his prayer for the perpetuity of this Union? Do you suppose that if he could have seen the Court-house of Boston hung in chains in order that men might be kept silent while a slave was carried back to his master, he would not have protested against a Government which made it necessary?

But I have already occupied more time than I should have done on an occasion like the present and I will not pursue this subject any further (applause).

A hymn was then sung.

Mrs. ABBY KELLY FOSTER, having expressed a desire to be heard, was next introduced to the audience.

MRS. FOSTER'S SPEECH.

I do not rise, Mr. Chairman, to make a speech, but simply to say a few words. I did not even expect to be here to-day, having but three days ago risen from a sick bed; but being here, and supposing that no one was to follow Mr. Phillips, and feeling that there was a word which he had left unsaid, I desired to say it. It was remarked by the first speaker (Mr. Furness) that he had come here not so much to make a speech as to take sides. I want to say a word on that point. There is a deep well of sympathy in the human heart, and in the darkest hours of the struggle against Slavery, when that overwhelming scourge swept over the land and seemed to crush the hopes of the oppressed and of the friends of the oppressed, I never doubted but that if we could reach that well of sympathy, its waters would issue forth in a flood and sweep away this blighting scourge. Hitherto we have scarce been able to reach it, but it is being reached, and its springs are beginning to flow. But what is it to take sides in this struggle? Is it to read "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that beautiful work of fiction, for which we thank God daily in our prayers? Is it to read the still more impressive narrative of "Solomon Northup"—twelve years of fact more terrible than fiction? Is it to feel a little enthusiasm and opposition against the repeal of the Missouri compromise, which none that has inherited a spark of the fire of the fathers and mothers of '76 can fail to feel? Is joining an Anti-Slavery Society taking sides—aye, even though the joining of a church should be considered as joining an Anti-Slavery society *ex officio*? Is that taking sides? Let me say a word about that, although I do it with trembling. I do not want a brother or a sister misled whose soul is filled with the tenderest sympathy for the slave, and who wants to take sides in the struggle for liberty. I submit to you, therefore, brothers and sisters, whether the Church of this country, which the Rev. Albert Barnes, who preaches in the same city where our much-honoured brother Furness proclaims to his congregation the truths of Christianity, declares to be the bulwark of Slavery, at least in effect, if not in the very words—I submit to you whether that Church is *ex officio* an Anti-Slavery Society. While the American Church occupies the position it now does, all our efforts are abortive—rendered null and void—and Mr. Barnes repeats the declaration again and again. I need not produce authority necessary to prove that some that are esteemed the brightest lights in the Presbyterian and other Churches of this land have stood up, with the Bible in their hands, to defend Slavery as of God. Go to the meetings that are held in this city, this week, where you will hear prayers offered and appeals made in behalf of humanity destitute of the word of life, and listen to hear if they have anything to say about the destitute slave. You will attend the Anniversary of the American Tract Society, combining within it the talent and the reputed piety of the Church. Examine then their publications and see if they have not expunged the least word of sympathy that has been written in their tracts and other publications in behalf of the slave. They not only never mention him in their meetings and in their books, but they utterly repudiate his claim and ignore his existence. Go to the meeting of the Bible Society, and see if a single protest is made against the system of Slavery which excludes the Bible from one-seventh part of the population of the United States. That Society that sends its agents around to take every shilling it can collect from every washwoman and woodsawyer, and little child, refuses the offer of $5,000 from our treasury upon condition that it would open its mouth to protest against the system that deprives three millions of our countrymen of the Scriptures, which they consider so essential to their salvation (cries of "shame"). Go to the meetings of the Education Society, or the Missionary Society; do they send out their young preachers and their missionaries to preach any other Gospel than that which allows cradle-plundering and woman-whipping in the United States? I ask you, then, do you consider it as taking sides to stand with such a Church, many of whose members, in full fellowship, buy and sell their own brethren—aye, their own offspring, too—and scarce one of whose male members does not go to the ballot-box, year after year, and vote for the extension of Slavery? I submit to you whether a Church, the members of which, having risen from their knees in prayer that God would give them good men to rule over them, will go straightway to the ballot-box and vote for men pledged to the infernal work of dragging women that are fleeing, with their babes, to a land of liberty, back to the terrible hell from which they had fled, is an *ex officio* Anti-Slavery Society.

Oh, sir, if I could, for one moment, feel as the slave woman whom I saw, a few days ago, close by the Canada line, felt, shut up in an upper chamber, with her five children about her; the youngest a mere babe nestling closely to her throbbing bosom and clinging to her trembling arms; the next, a child of two years, scarcely comprehending that it was a fearful place; another four years old, looking anxiously into its mother's face when it saw the tears course down her cheeks; another of six years, who says, "mother, will it do to speak loud?" and another of eight years, fully comprehending the reason of her mother's fear—I say, if I could feel as she felt, standing on this platform, do you think that I would call that Church whose members enacted that law by which this woman and her children were hunted like wild beasts, and driven into a hiding place from officers of the government, who were at that moment within call of that house, an Anti-Slavery Soiciety? (Applause.)

But I did not rise to make a speech. We are come here to take sides. The time is coming when we shall stand in the great congregation of the unnumbered myriads of God's universe, to render an account for the deeds done in the body. The meaning is figurative; nevertheless, I believe, that it is God's truth. Infidel though I am called, I feel that it is the truth of God. And we shall then have to take sides; the sheep shall be divided from the goats. And to the sheep on his right hand he shall say, "Enter into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Why? Because you have joined an *ex-officio* Anti-Slavery Society, a Church? No. "Because I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; sick and in prison, and ye visited me; for inasmuch as ye have done it to one, the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." And to those on his left hand he shall say, "Depart from me, ye accursed." Why? Because you did not join an *ex-officio* Anti-Slavery Society, a Church? No. "Because I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not; for inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me." Sir, it is the Church that has taken side with oppression and against these least of Christ's brethren. It has opposed its colossal power to emancipation; and just so long as it continues to oppose it and to be as powerful as it is at present, our preaching, perchance, will be like Noah's, which God grant we may continue to utter, even though none should repent after a hundred years (great applause).

MR. GARRISON'S SPEECH.

Mr. GARRISON then came forward and said he should not trespass long upon the courtesy or patience of the meeting, at that late hour. Enough had been said to inspire every heart with a just sense of the glorious nature of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

As for himself, if they wished to know aught respecting his patriotism or piety, he had but a single test to present—THE SLAVE! He had no Constitution, no Union, no Country, no Bible, no God, aside from THE SLAVE, until the hour when the victim should be loosed from his chains, lifted up from his degradation into the sunlight of heaven, placed upon his feet, and recognised as a whole man (applause). Eighteen hundred years ago, an apostle, now honoured as a saint, but then deemed a madman and a heretic, boldly proclaimed, "I am determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified"—not glorified, but crucified, between two thieves—the worst of them both. So, in a similar spirit, he trusted, and under analogous circumstances, he (Mr. G.) was determined to know nothing in this country, save the slave, and him branded as a chattel (applause).

If there had been time, he was going to give to the audience some refreshing reminiscences in regard to his clerical brethren, and their position touching the the Anti-Slavery cause (cries of "Go on!"). Mr. G. proceeded to show the extreme hostility of the clergy, generally, to that cause and its uncompromising advocates, for the last quarter of a century; and how severely they had impeached the judgment, opposed the policy, and deprecated the spirit and language of the Abolitionists—accusing the latter of retarding the work of emancipation, and declaring that the Southern slaveholders would yield a listening ear, if approached in a suitable manner. Well, these clerical faultfinders had at least tried their hand, "judiciously" and "piously"—as in the case of the pending Nebraska bill—and with what result? Though only exhibiting a morality, on this subject, "bounded by 36 deg. 30 min. North latitude," and making no issue whatever with Slavery as it exists in fifteen States of the Union, they had, nevertheless, been assailed in the fiercest manner and with the vilest epithets, in Congress and out of it—a most righteous retribution! Mr. G. read extracts from various Southern journals, denouncing the clerical remonstrants as guilty of treason, blasphemy, &c. In concluding his remarks, he said, we were all shut up, of necessity, to one of two alternatives—either to give battle, in the name of God, to the Slave Power as it presents itself, a hideous devil, or else openly to deny that there is any God, and pay homage to this devil, as exalted above all that is called God! (Loud applause).

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. Garrison, which was adopted:

Resolved, That, at a time when the Churches of the land are for the most part closed against the advocates of the slave, the thanks of this meeting are especially due to the trustees of the Broadway Universalist Society, for permitting the American Anti-Slavery Society to hold its Twenty-first Anniversary in their house of worship; and that the Secretary of this Society be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the trustees aforesaid.

After singing another Hymn, the Society adjourned.

BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

After the highly interesting public Anniversary of the Society, held on the morning of Wednesday, May 10, at the church of Rev. Dr. Chapin, the Society commenced, in the afternoon of the same day, at 3 1-2 o'clock, its series of meetings for discussion, conversation, and business, at Hope Chapel Lecture-room.

The President called the Society to order.

It was moved by Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y., and seconded, That a Committee of three persons be nominated by the chair, to report the Committees and other officers needed at this annual meeting. Adopted.

SAMUEL J. MAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, and ASA FAIRBANKS, were nominated and chosen said Committee.

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER expressed the hope that a large Committee—of forty or more—might be chosen, to hold frequent sessions during this annual meeting, and deliberate upon the large amount of business before it.

The President replied that arrangements had been made for meetings similar to those proposed by Mrs Foster.

Mr. GARRISON read the two following papers, certifying delegates to this Annual Meeting:

At a meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends in the State of Pennsylvania (Chester Co.).

TO THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, CITY OF NEW YORK.

Our Religious Society "believes in the Equal Brotherhood of the Human Family, without regard to sex, colour or condition." We, therefore, can have no other than the most cordial fellowship with an institution like yours, which seeks the utter annihilation and everlasting overthrow of Slavery. We appoint Allen, Maria and Eliza Agnew to attend the meeting as our representatives.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE,	BENJAMIN PYLE,
JOHN COX,	HANNAH COX,
SARAH PRESTON,	RUTH DUGDALE.

4th mo. 30, 1854.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, May, 1854.

Our friend and faithful fellow-labourer, Henry B. Blackwell, is hereby appointed by the Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle of Cincinnati to represent that body at the Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and express for them their heartfelt sympathy in its labours and sacrifices.

SARAH OTIS ERNST, President.

While the Committee of nomination were out, Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, addressed the meeting on several topics of prominent and immediate interest in the Anti-Slavery cause.

The Committee on organization of the meeting reported the following Committees, &c.

Committee on Business—Wendell Phillips, Boston; Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia; Henry B. Blackwell, Cincinnati; Edward M. Davis, Philadelphia; Oliver Johnson, New York; William H. Topp, Albany; Richard Glazier, Jr., Michigan; Amy Post, Rochester; S. H. Gay, Staten Island; Francis Jackson, Boston; Robert Purvis, Byberry, Pa.; Lydia Mott, Albany; C. L. Remond, Salem, Mass.; Sarah Pugh, Philadelphia; Abby K. Foster, Worcester; Samuel J. May, Syracuse.

Committee on Finance—Jas. Miller McKim, Philadelphia; Rowland Johnson, New York; Susan B. Anthony, Rochester; James W. Loguen, Syracuse; Josephine S. Griffing, Salem, Ohio; Lauren Wetmore, New York.

Committee on Officers for the ensuing year—Edmund Quincy, Dedham, Mass.; Andrew T. Foss, New Hampshire; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; Edw. Spalding, Connecticut; Pliny Sexton, New York; Allen Agnew, Pennsylvania; Jacob L. Brotherton, New Jersey; Jacob Walton, Michigan.

Assistant Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., Boston; Charles S. S. Griffing, Ohio.

After a single amendment, incorporated above, the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, moved that the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Society next autumn be held in the City of Syracuse, on the 29th and 30th of Sept.

The motion was seconded, and, after some remarks, was unanimously adopted.

OLIVER JOHNSON suggested, as we were to have this year a report from the Executive Committee, that this would be a suitable time to hear it, or such portions of it as time would allow.

EDMUND QUINCY said that, as the report was quite voluminous, it had been deemed best by the Executive Committee to omit its reading now, either in whole or in part.

Voted, That when we adjourn, it be to meet again in this place to-morrow at 9 1-2 o'clock; and that the hours of 9 1-2 A. M., 3 and 7 1-2 P. M., be assigned as the hours of assembling at the coming Sessions. (It being understood that the meeting, this evening, is to be a private meeting of Committees, and immediate members of the Society.)

The following resolution was reported from the Business Committee:

Resolved, That the one grand vital issue to be made with the Slave Power is the the dissolution of the existing American Union.

This was discussed by Henry C. Wright, and Mr. Irving of New York, and incidentally by Charles L. Remond.

EVENING.—A private meeting of members of the Society was held at Hope Chapel Lecture-room, and plans of furthering the cause were offered and discussed.

THURSDAY.

The Society assembled, according to adjournment, and at 10 o'clock were called to order by the President.

The resolution before the meeting, on the dissolution of the Union, was read again; and the following was also reported by the Business Committee:

Resolved, That an Anti-Slavery conscience which is bounded by 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, instead of presenting any barrier to the extension of the Slave Power, may safely be disregarded and scoffed at by the South, as hypocritical in its pretended opposition to Slavery, cowardly in its spirit, and spasmodic in its action.

Mr. PURVIS, of Pennsylvania, asked leave for a few words, in explanation of the remarks made, personal to himself, at yesterday's morning meeting, by his friends the President of the Society, and Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Purvis's allusions to his colour called out one or two more speakers, and the subject, thus incidentally brought up, elicited quite an interesting discussion, in which Samuel J. May, W. L. Garrison, T. Van Rensellaer, Wendell Phillips, Charles L. Remond, Andrew Jackson Davis, Mr. Irving, Henry C. Wright, and others took part.

Mr. A. J. DAVIS's remarks, above referred to, were substantially as follows: He said that since he had been in the city, he had been told, in an admonitory way, that among his best friends, and most interested readers of his publications, was a large and increasing class at the South; that he already has numerous readers there, and a very large sale for his publications might easily be secured. All this, he was told, would be most injuriously affected, if he (Mr. Davis) should take any prominent part in the Anti-Slavery movement, and especially if he should identify himself with the Anti-Slavery meetings now holding in this city. Under these circumstances, he had felt it to be his duty to take the earliest opportunity to express the deep and entire interest he felt in this movement, and in this Society. His whole mind and heart, his entire being, led him to identify himself most entirely with the cause. So far as he had *real* friends at the South, he did not fear that any of them would be alienated from him by this declaration on his part.

JAMES MILLER MCKIM objected to the frequent repetition by our speakers of the idea that we are "infidels." The members of the Society understand the meaning of this admission, but others do not. He denied that there existed the least ground for the charge, in any correct sense.

WENDELL PHILLIPS differed from Mr. McKim to some extent. He thought that we should, in our papers and by our speakers, always make it clear, in one of two ways, that we are far as the poles asunder from the Churches and the Religion of this country. We should, first, either claim that we are the true Church, and repudiate the churches, pulpits, and clergy of the land generally as the heretics, who were to be excommunicated from the true Christian body; or, second, proclaim it openly and everywhere that we are *the infidels*, always at the same time making it definitely understood that it is to the false, cruel, *pro-slavery* religion that we are infidel.

LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, spoke with disapprobation of the programme of yesterday's morning meeting, announcing prayer by a person selected for the purpose, and the singing of certain select pieces.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER took the same ground, thinking the equal rights of many members of the Society were compromised by the said programme, which she spoke of as an entire departure from the customary course of the Society.

S. P. ANDREWS continued the debate.

EDWARD M. DAVIS rose to a question of order. He thought this whole discussion quite irregular. Two resolutions had been regularly brought before the Society at the commencement of this session. Mr. Purvis had requested leave to make a personal statement and had done so. One topic after another had been introduced, until the morning session was now far advanced.

After a few explanatory remarks by Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Irving, the question of Finance was announced by the President to be the subject now in order.

Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. MCKIM, and Mrs. FOSTER spoke on this subject, and the Finance Committee proceeded to the discharge of their business.

[The said Committee subsequently reported that the sum of about $800 had been raised in cash and pledges.]

Voted, That at the close of this evening's meeting, the public meetings of the Society be adjourned, *sine die*, and that the time to-morrow be devoted to a strictly business meeting of the Executive Committee, and of the members of this Society and its auxiliaries.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON.—Met according to adjournment. The President called to order.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year, reported the following names of persons to constitute said officers:

President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts.

Vice-Presidents—Peter Libbey, Maine; Luther Melendy, Theodore B. Moses, New Hampshire; Patten Davis, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Massachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; James B. Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. May, Thomas McClintock, Isaac Post, Pliny Sexton, New York; Robert Purvis, Edward M. Davis, Thos. Whitson, Pennsylvania; Alfred Gibbs Campbell, N. Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Thomas Donaldson, William Stedman, Joseph Barker, Ohio; William Hearn, Indiana; Joseph Merritt, Thomas Chandler, Cyrus Fuller, Michigan; John Wichell, Illinois; James A. Shedd, Iowa; Caleb Green, Minnesota; Georgiana B. Kirby, California.

Corresponding Secretaries—Edmund Quincy, Sydney Howard Gay.

Recording Secretary—Wendell Phillips.

Treasurer—Francis Jackson.

Executive Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Maria Weston Chapman, Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston, Sydney Howard Gay, Eliza Lee Follen, James Russell Lowell, Charles F. Hovey, Samuel May, Jr., Wm. I. Bowditch.

Said report was accepted, and the officers chosen, unanimously.

OLIVER JOHNSON, from the Committee of Arrangements, made an explanatory statement with regard to the programme; he said: The responsibility of issuing a programme for the proceedings of this Anniversary rests on me, as having been appointed, with one or two others in this City, a Committee of Arrangements. I corresponded with Mr. May, of Boston, and have his leave to say he shares the responsibility of all that has been done. There was an objection to the announcement beforehand of a prayer. In this it seemed to me there was no departure from our principles. There is frequently a private understanding with some person beforehand, and it seemed proper to put the whole proceedings in the programme. I regret that any member was pained; yet I am not persuaded that we have acted contrary to the principles of the Association.

The resolutions before the meeting were read by the Secretary.

Mr. BLACKWELL, of Cincinnati, spoke in opposition to the adoption of the resolutions. He had no idolatry for the Union, and believed it would perish under the growth of a true Anti-Slavery sentiment and conscience; but he thought it an error to make its dissolution a distinct and prominent issue

EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts, replied in an able manner to Mr. Blackwell's argument.

After some further brief remarks on the resolutions from two or three speakers, adjourned to the evening.

EVENING.—Mr. GARRISON in the chair.

Mr. VAN RENSELLAER spoke against the resolution for the dissolution of the Union.

On motion of Oliver Johnson, Voted, That the speakers be requested to limit themselves to ten minutes each.

CHARLES L. REMOND objected to the representation given this afternoon, by Mr. Blackwell, of Ohio, of the purport of certain remarks of Mr. Frederick Douglass in the late Cincinnati Convention, and at the Tabernacle meeting last evening. Mr. Remond spoke also in favour of a Dissolution of the Union.

SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, advocated the Dissolution of the Union, having believed, from the very beginning of the enterprise, that this measure is necessary for the slave's emancipation.

H. C. WRIGHT spoke in favour of the resolutions.

Mr. DORRANCE, of New Jersey, spoke of the primary principles of all just government, and enquired if this government was in harmony with the moral sense of the American people.

J. W. LOGUEN, of Syracuse, said he had learned to detest Slavery, while he was himself in the slave-gang. He then resolved to dissolve his connexion with Slavery the first opportunity, and had done so. He believed both in fighting and in praying for the right, and he was equally religious in both exercises. He spoke of his brother and sister still in Slavery—sold by the man who was his master, and his father too, to a Methodist class-leader.

Mr. GARRISON opposed the idea of removing Slavery by bloodshed. The spirit of force, thus fostered, would be sure to continue oppression in another form, if not the same. He showed the Pro-Slavery character of the Constitution, and the necessity of a religious and political separation from slaveholders.

F. DOUGLASS, of Rochester, said the Union, as Mr. Garrison and his friends looked at it, was all they declared it to be. But he took a different view of the question, believing the government perverted from its true and original intent.

Mr. D. denied the charge made by Mr. Remond that he did, on the preceeding evening, ridicule Mr. Garrison and his friends, and rehearsed what he had said.

Mr. REMOND still insisted that he had correctly reported Mr. Douglass.

Mr. MELLEN, of Boston, claimed that the United States Constitution was Anti-Slavery.

The two resolutions before the Society were then unanimously adopted.

The following resolution, in regard to the late STEPHEN SMITH, of Syracuse, was presented and advocated by Rev. S. J. May, and was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Society be requested to make a record of the death of the late Stephen Smith, of Syracuse; and that he add to it a suitable notice of him as among the first of the people of the City of Syracuse to embrace the Anti-Slavery cause; to welcome the advocates of that cause to his house; and to expose himself and his property with them to the violations to which, in the early years of our enterprise, the persons and properties of Anti-Slavery men were almost everywhere exposed. In the death of that excellent man, this Society has lost one of its earliest friends and most generous contributors.

After some appropriate remarks from Mr. Garrison, respecting the character and services of the late JAMES W. WALKER, of Ohio, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the recent death of JAMES W. WALKER, of Ohio, our cause has lost one of its ablest and most devoted advocates—by whom no sacrifice was deemed too great, no peril too imminent to encounter, no labour too arduous to be done, for its advancement and complete triumph over all opposition; to whom thousands at the West are indebted for their conversion to the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation; and whose example of moral intrepidity, and steadfast fidelity to the claims of the enslaved, is worthy of all imitation.

The Business Committee offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That we proffer to our faithful friend and untiring coadjutor, PARKER PILLSBURY, the deep-felt sympathy of this Society, in view of the serious prostration of his health in a foreign land; and trust that his complete convalescence will be very speedily realized, and he enabled to bear an uncompromising testimony abroad against the damning sin of our land; and at last be safely returned to his family and friends, and to the field of his old conflicts and triumphs.

OLIVER JOHNSON presented the following preamble and resolution:

The Executive Committee being unable to submit to this meeting their Twenty-first Annual Report,

Voted, That they be urgently requested to prepare and publish the same as speedily as possible.

The meetings of the Society were then adjourned, *sine die*.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Pres.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Rec. Sec'y.
SAMUEL MAY, JR., }
CHARLES S. S. GRIFFING, } Assistant Secretaries.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.
Donations to the Treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1854.

New England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, in the MELODEON, on TUESDAY WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 30th and 31st, and June 1st, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M.

No trumpet-call, especially in a crisis like the present, is deemed necessary in order to bring together, on this occasion, those who are sincere, earnest and uncompromising in their hostility to Slavery, and also such as are honestly inquiring for the first time, what are their responsibilities and duties in regard to that hideous system. Knowing that the platform of the Convention is free for all, whatever may be their peculiar views on the subject, and rejoicing that another favourable opportunity will be afforded to arouse the Northern mind, and to give a staggering blow to that Demoniac Power which rules the land, they will rally after the manner of '76, but with no sectional or personal feeling, and with a desire to save all, to destroy none.

"Up, then, for freedom!—not in strife,
Like that our sterner fathers saw—
The awful waste of human life—
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God."

FRANCIS JACKSON, Pres.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

THE Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was attended, last week, with the most brilliant success. We have never held a Meeting in this city of a more gratifying character in all respects. Our everlasting exile from New York having come to an end last year, after an eternity of twenty-four months, we were admitted, for the first time for many years, within the walls of an edifice dedicated to the Christian Religion. The spacious Church of Dr. Chapin was filled to its utmost extent, and the great audience listened with earnest attention to the keenest words of Messrs. Garrison, Purvis and Phillips, of Dr. Furness and of Mrs. Foster. Scarcely the ghost of a hiss could be evoked by the most potent words and spells of any magician there. It was a singular proof of the change which has been going on in the general mind, during the last three or four years. The Union must indeed be past saving if Captain Rynders has so soon despaired of the Republic and abandoned his Protectorate of it. The absence of Mr. Theodore Parker and of Miss Lucy Stone were the only drawbacks to the full satisfactions of the occasion. It was, in spite of them, a day to give joy and strength to the hearts of all true friends of justice and freedom.

The subsequent meetings were held in the lecture room of the Hope Chapel, and were not very numerously attended, except by the members of the Society in attendance. When we say that the chief, if not the only, question of difference of opinion turned on the propriety of having a printed *programme* of the order of the services of the Anniversary, and of the announcement of the name of the gentleman who had been asked to open it with prayer, we are sure that our readers will believe that on all essential points of principle there was entire unanimity of sentiment. The cardinal doctrines of the Society and the philosophy of its method were discussed freely at the open meetings of the Society; while at meetings of the members and officers only the best way of promulgating and promoting them was fully considered, in the way of friendly counsel. Funds were raised and pledged, and the best spirit appeared to prevail among those taking part in the meeting. Among them we were happy to meet several Abolitionissts from the West, and from other parts of the Union, whom we had long known by their works, but whom we had never seen face to face before. This is one of the chiefest advantages and pleasures of our Annual Meetings, and we hope that they will return home with hearts encouraged and courage strengthened.

On Friday evening, the New York City Anti-Slavery Society held its first Anniversary. It will be remembered that this Society was formed a year ago, in auxiliaryship with the American Society, and that it was under its auspices that the Course of Lectures which was so marked a feature of the last winter in New York was carried through. Certainly, if their first Anniversary might be taken as a proof of the work it has done, it received a glorious crown of its apostleship. A more immense or a more enthusiastic audience could hardly have been crowded into the Tabernacle by Daniel Webster or Jenny Lind. Every seat was filled and every available standing-place occupied by eager auditors. The chief orator of the evening was the Rev. Theodore Parker, who consented to make up for the diappointment of our Anniversary by speaking on this evening instead. He held the audience for nearly two hours in earnest attention Mr. Garrison then made a few remarks in giving way to Mr. Phillips, who concluded the evening. Though the severest truths were told of men as well as of measures, of the dead as well as of the living, no serious disapprobation could be extorted from the vast audience. It was a most significant and a most cheering sign of the times. It looked as if there might yet be found even in New York righteous men enough to keep the fire from coming down to consume it.

Nor was the success of these two Anniversaries the only observable thing in an Anti Slavery direction that was to be seen here last week. That very success was to be attributed in some measure to an outside agitation, coming immediately from unlooked-for sources, but originally from the same common fountain of Anti-Slavery profession. It was during that week that the country was overhung by the lowering cloud of the Nebraska villany, and it was expected that it would burst upon our heads before we parted. This crisis necessarily caused a strong feeling of indignation on the part of all who had not sold themselves to the devil of party politics, and it found strong expression in every newspaper of tolerable pretensions to decent respectability. It made for itself yet another vent in a great Mass Meeting, held in the Park, on Saturday afternoon. It was called by many of the most respectable citizens of New York, taking respectability in the American sense of wealth and social position. Among the officers of the meeting, we observed the names of several of the most special Union-saving Castle Gardenites of 1850–1, such as Messrs. George Wood, Hiram Ketchum, and J. W. Gerard. We Abolitionists believe in repentance, and shall be most happy to welcome these gentlemen and any other sinners of the same description back from the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity, and hope they will continue to bring forth fruit meet for repentance.

The Satanic Press of New York attempted to represent the Meeting as a failure. But if it were a failure, we should like to see what they would allow to be a success. The Park from the Platform to the City Hall was thick with faces as far as we could see, and a more unanimous audience could hardly be got together on any subject. Mr. Benjamin F. Butler, formerly Attorney-General of the United States, was the first speaker, and seemed to utter the sincere sentiments of an honest hater of political perfidy. He certainly went as far as a Democratic politician could be expected to go when he declared that he would sooner vote for Mr. Seward, if this question were the issue, than for any Democrat who took the opposite side. Mr. Fessenden made a most admirable and telling speech, which was cheered to the very echo when he gave utterance to sentiments such as would have been thought extravagant in an ultra Abolitionist a few years since. Several other good speeches were made, and the Address and Resolutions passed by a unanimous vote. The Meeting seemed very unwilling to separate even at 8 o'clock.

Now, we do not look on these demonstrations as signs of a radical change in public opinion, nor do we believe that these very gentlemen are ready for the natural and logical consequences of their expressed opinions and determinations. But we do look upon them as proofs that the political cauldron is in an ebullient state, and that it will purify itself yet, though probably not soon, by this wholesome agitation of its elements. These are the signs that go before Revolutions, and men who are in earnest for the Abolition of Slavery must be ready for Revolution. The next stage in the process of this political alchemy is obviously and confessedly at hand. The *Herald* and the other organs of this Administration openly predict and rejoice in the prospect of a new division of parties, turning on the question of Slavery. It will be a good day for the country when it comes. The only natural division of American parties is North and South, Slavery and Anti-Slavery. The Abolitionists have forseen and predicted this state of things for long, but they did not hope to see it brought about so soon. And now the very men and presses which used to denounce "Sectionalism" as the worst of treason, and "Nationalism" as the height of patriotism, are now for re-organizing the parties on a strictly sectional issue. Let it come. It will be a happy day for the Slaves and for the North. It will be the forerunner of that Union among the millions of the North that will either crush the Oligarchy that rules them with a slave-whip, or else the Union that compels them to that disgraceful submission. May they feel their strength and see their duty, and that speedily.

"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unconquerable number;
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you;
Ye are many, they are few!"

E. Q.

THE NEBRASKA STRUGGLE.

THE Slave Power has been thus far baffled in its attempts to bring the House to a final vote on the Nebraska Bill. Fearful of the effects of further discussion, Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, the file-leader of the Power aforesaid, moved, on the 11th inst., to terminate debate in the Committee of the Whole at noon on the following day (Friday), intending, if this motion should prevail, that the bill should be at once reported to the House, where, by the aid of the "previous question," all debate could be stifled and the question be forced to an immediate decision. This scheme a portion of the opponents of the bill resolved to defeat by consuming the time of the House in calling the yeas and nays upon motions of one sort and another, which, according to the rules, were strictly in order. In any ordinary case, such a proceeding would be liable to grave objections; but when it was seen to be the only measure whereby the immediate consummation of a gigantic National Crime could be prevented, the friends of freedom did not hesitate to adopt it. The contest was kept up through the whole of Thursday night, the opponents of the Nebraska bill forming themselves into two sections, one of them remaining in the House for the purpose of making motions and demanding the yeas and nays thereon, while the other retired for rest and refreshment. At 12 o'clock on Friday night, after an uninterrupted session of 36 hours, the majority, satisfied that the opponents of the bill were determined to stand to the last for the privileges of the House and the freedom of debate, concluded to adjourn till Saturday. The following extracts from the correspondence of the *Tribune* will afford some idea of the scenes which transpired during this protracted session:

SATURDAY, May 13, 1854.

The telegraph will tell you of the row in the House, but you can have no idea of the scene as it occurred. Douglas was in the House directing his followers, and, with the exception of a few hours, was there all the time during the struggle. They charged him with counselling revolution and violence in order to accomplish his purpose. It is charged that he attempted to tamper with the Speaker, and to get him to override the rules, but the Speaker repelled his suggestions. Then, it is charged that he tried to get up a plan for overruling the Speaker's decisions, which plan failed! It is further charged that the Nebraska men have avowed their purpose in due time "to take the rules into their own hands, and take the responsibility and pass the bill *any how*."

There is no doubt that Edmundson was put forward to begin a fight, and that Douglas was cognizant of it. He, Edmundson, had, in the course of the evening, tried to get up a quarrel with Wentworth of Illinois, and with Sage of New York. Campbell of Ohio was making some remarks in reply to Stephens. Edmundson, armed to the teeth, and under the influence of liquor, came up and demanded what right he had to declare his course of action—that if he, Campbell, wanted to make any further opposition to the bill, he was the man who would meet him personally. Campbell indignantly repelled his interference, when Edmundson began to unbutton his vest, for the purpose, it is supposed, of getting out his bowie knife, when Campbell, who was unarmed, threw his arms behind him, and defied him to lay his finger upon him. At this juncture an immense crowd had rushed to the scene, and several persons had got between the two, and immediately the Sergeant-at-Arms rushed up with his mace. Had Edmundson laid the weight of a feather upon Campbell, the result would have been deplorable. A general fight would have ensued, and Heaven knows with what results. No man could have displayed more nerve and cool determination than Mr. Campbell did on the occasion.

This contest has shown the *true* men. The New York Whigs were all as true as steel. Maurice, Peck, Oliver and John Wheeler have reflected imperishable glory on the Hards of New York. Cutting was off nearly all the time. Peckham, a brave and true man, was sick and not able to be in the House much. Fenton and Hughes of New York stood up nobly. Middleswarth and Everhart of Pennsylvania, Edgerton of Ohio, and Mace of Indiana, showed an unblenching front. So did Haven. Richardson's motion to adjourn gave great offence to some of his men, such worthies, for example, as Mike Walsh and Tweed. Westbrook and Rowe go with the Nebraska men through thick and thin.

Speaker Boyd, so far, has acted with great fairness, and confidence is felt that while he is in the Chair, himself, no unjust decision will be made It is only feared a less honest man may temporarily occupy the place, as it is, of course, impossible for any one man to preside over such a body for thirty or forty hours without intermission. The unfaltering and consistent course of Messrs. Maurice, Wheeler, Grow, and a few other

Democrats, has been in strong contrast with the vacillation and treachery of that party.

I fear your telegraphic dispatch on Friday did slight injustice to Messrs. Haven and Giddings. While it is true that at first and on all occasions they did not see fit to co-operate with the majority of the opponents of Nebraska, it is nevertheless but just to say that when the fight had fairly begun no men were more ardent or more true than they. In fact, Mr. Giddings has at all times been at the head of the fight. Gerrit Smith, everybody admits, acts from strictly conscientious motives in refusing to co-operate with others in the extreme measures above described, and although, as most of his friends think, he mistakes the proper course sometimes, no one here is uncharitable enough to condemn him. The opponents of the bill here desire to preserve perfect harmony in their ranks, maugre all differences of opinion on minor points. Charles Sumner has entered into all the plans to defeat the iniquity with great zeal and heartiness. He told Gerrit Smith that if the bill passed as was proposed, without full discussion, he should hold him responsible for it. Some of the more reckless members from the South have counselled the Speaker to remain deaf to all motions from the minority, and put to vote the motions of Richardson over their heads. They say the people would sustain such a course, and that the rules of the House are but temporary expedients for conducting business. Something of this kind will very probably be resorted to before the contest is closed.

On Monday, Mr. Richardson moved to close the debate in the Committee of the Whole on Saturday (to-day), which motion was adopted 114 to 59. It is understood that if the attempt is then made to force the question to a vote, the courageous minority will renew their opposition and continue it undaunted to the last. On this point the *Tribune* holds the following language:

> The period which will elapse between now and Saturday will afford the minority in the House of Representatives an excellent opportunity to refresh themselves and prepare for the renewed struggle on the Nebraska bill, if its supporters shall then still be unwise and reckless enough to insist on crowding the vile measure through. We trust they will make the most of the intervening time in this preparation. The opposition they have commenced, if resolutely continued, is sure to defeat the bill. They owe it to themselves and to the country to persist in that opposition to the last. That they will do so we entertain no doubt. Their course is one of no doubtful propriety. It will be unanimously sustained by the universal approval of the North. The threats that have been thrown out of usurpation to be resorted to, in order to accomplish this infamy, are not to be heeded. The conspirators will scarcely venture upon revolutionary proceedings. Let but the minority stand firm and undaunted, and the contemplated outrage upon liberty will be averted.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

WE published, last week, a letter from the Madrid correspondent of the London *Times*, which embodied a synopsis of a plan recently adopted by the Spanish Government for preventing the further introduction of slaves into Cuba. The plan referred to has been ascribed not to the spontaneous action of the Queen and her Cabinet, but to the intervention of England. It has been said that the Spanish Government, conscious of her inability to resist, unaided, the threatened aggression from the United States—an aggression having for its object the annexation of Cuba as a slave State to the American Union—has entered into a secret alliance with Great Britain, and agreed to abolish the slave trade, and, eventually, Slavery itself. The rumour of such an agreement created so much excitement in Cuba, that the Captain-General felt himself called upon to deny its truth; and he has accordingly done so in the same proclamation in which he sets before the people of the island the measures determined upon for the extinction of the slave trade. We copy the document, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE POLITICAL SECRETARY, }
HAVANA, Wednesday, May 3, 1854. }

It is the obligation of Governments in grave circumstances to address themselves to the governed, to tranquillize their minds, and to explain to them, with clearness and frankness, that which, in another manner circulated and falsely commented upon, might alarm them and affect their respectable interests.

The obligation falls upon me, to-day, to deny, in the most solemn manner, in the name of the Queen, whose authority I represent in this vast province of her monarchy, the report maliciously circulated of a supposed compact with a powerful nation, the base of which is the *emancipation of the slaves*, at a period sooner or later, in recompense for its efficacious assistance in the conservation of Cuba under the flag that discovered it, that populated it, and maintained it at a great expense for a number of years. Useful it might be and well for us, perhaps, the help of so powerful a friend, if we should find ourselves in need of it, which is not to be expected, to repel the aggression of another, which has *greater obligations to respect our alliance contracted in the cradle of its own liberty;* but we would not purchase that assistance at so great a cost, nor is it indispensable to sustain our rights, which count upon a fleet and a veteran army, and upon the loyalty of the immense majority of the vigorous natives, before which the chattering and shameful war of letters and lies of a few revolutionists is despicable; in short, with the justice of our cause and the strength it gives to the good, for the defence of their homes, of their lives, and their God, who directs hurricanes and sickness against the foreign enemy, and so much animates our hearts, as well as gives endurance to our Spanish bodies.

That detestable invention is false in every point, offensive to our power and to our glory, the most opposed to the sentiments of the Queen, and I repel it now, in her august name, as an attempt against the prosperity of this soil, and which now or never will be consummated, whilst Providence does not extinguish, in every Castillian breast, the holy sentiment of justice and respect for *property legitimately* acquired.

But if this is just, and the Government will never depart from this, fulfilling its duty, also the inhabitants of Cuba have another not less sacred to attend to, complying with the laws: *also, it is time to make the life of the Creole negro sweeter than that of the white, who, with another name*, fatigues himself in Europe; and above all, the day has arrived to end forever that infamous market of Africa, food of the most barbarous avarice, the grave of every sentiment of virtue in the country which tolerates it, a stain to every white brow, and a complete dishonour to humanity.

The Government is determined to terminate it at all hazards. There shall be no more subterfuge nor hypocritical deception, which will be sufficient to keep it in that road, indispensable to guard the dignity which it touches. What are the pretexts alleged for continuing that infamous traffic? The want of labour, when the Government has facilitated the means of substituting it abundantly? The quality of the labourers, when from all parts, from honourable men, advices are received favourable to the new colonists? Or is it not, as they are all of the same class, that as to some they prove good, and to others bad, according to the avarice of the party? If there be no motive but vile interest, not of the planter who cultivates the soil, but of the avaricious traders who obtain a thousand for every hundred, although they tear it from the flesh of their fellow-man, the first can change from their present rapid but insecure gains, others perhaps less at first, but surer and more lasting, which will pass to their children and to their grand-children, without being extinguished like the present, in a single generation; and, above all, uniting true riches with religion, the law, habits, and public and private felicity, instead of the present artificial fortunes, and the perpetuation of alarm and want of confidence which surround them. The latter are those who cannot change for anything the monstrous usury of their gain, and on that account their hearts find nothing to substitute for it, but their imagination much to invent to fascinate it with pretended advantages. To them of what importance is faith, law, the honour of the Government? It is of this, then, to occupy itself in regard to them. There has been enough of fraudulent introductions, the repression of which at present is the constant perturbation of him who governs. For a longer time the spectacle of the impotency of the Government cannot last, the endeavours of which avarice and vice laugh, nor the impunity of a few capitalists, who put their private interests before national honour, which is highly compromised.

Considering, inasmuch as circumstances have changed with the ordinance for the admission of colonists, and the impossibility of preserving for a greater length of time in force and spirit, what is laid down in the penal law of the 4th of March, 1844, I have ordered, without prejudice to other higher measures, the appprobation of which I wait from Her Majesty, that what is contained in the following articles shall be observed from the 1st of August next:

ARTICLE 1. Within one month from the landing of negroes, the authorities shall have power to enter any estate suspected, and they may call a muster of the negroes and examine them as they may consider proper, although they shall avoid all show of force, except in cases of open resistance, and shall take care to do no act that may lower the owners or administrators in the eye of their slaves.

ART. 2. To be able to prove, in a clear and precise manner, without delay, as at present, with regard to whence the slaves come—the only manner to comply with what is laid down in article IX. of the law of the 4th of March, 1845, already cited, which says that the proprietors shall not be disturbed in regard to their negroes, with the pretext as to where derived. The local authorities every year, from the 1st of August, at the end of the crop, shall form lists of the negroes, giving a duplicate to their owners, signed by both parties, it being the obligation of the latter to make known to the former, within the third day, any reduction or increase, giving the title and name of the person from whom they come; and in case of the disposal of negroes, it is with the understanding that these operations shall be done officially, and without any charge to the proprietor.

ART. 3. The negroes found on an estate not included in the list, shall be seized and declared free, after the corresponding steps, if newly imported, the holders being subject to the fines imposed on abetters and concealers of this prohibited traffic; but if, on examination, they should not be found to be newly imported, a fine of fifty dollars shall be imposed on every negro not mentioned in the list.

ART. 4. The Governors and Government, and other civil authorities, in whose jurisdiction landings shall be made, not giving information to the Supreme Government as soon as they are aware of the facts, and at all events before the expiration of twenty-four hours from the occurrence, will for this alone be deprived of their office; but if other charges should be proved against them, they shall suffer, besides, the penalties imposed by the proper tribunals.

ART. 5. It being impossible that any landing can be made without the connivance of the Captain of Partedo, or at least without their culpable blame, equal in law to bribery, those in whose jurisdiction these shall happen, if they do not capture all the negroes, shall incur for that alone the loss of their office, and be disqualified for any other.

ART. 6. Those occupied, great or small, in the prohibited traffic in slaves shall be expelled from the island by the Government, for the term of two years, according to the powers conferred on me by the laws of the Indies, without prejudice to the responsibility that they may be liable to in the suits brought against them, in which their connivance shall be proved.

MARQUIS DE LA PEZUELA.

It is said that, simultaneously with the issue of this decree, a numerous cargo of native Africans was landed on the island with the connivance of the Government; but it will be observed that the decree, according to its terms, will not be in force until the first of August.

It may be true that Spain has not entered into a formal agreement to abolish Slavery at any definite period, but the terms of the above proclamation do not preclude the idea that there is an *understanding* between the two Governments that the thing is to be done at no very distant day. However this may be, it is very certain that, sooner than permit the island to be taken by the United States, the Captain-General would arm the whole slave population and promise them their liberty as a reward for their valour in defending the island. The system of registration, if carried out in good faith, will supply the government with many friends in the persons of those who will thus become free. The free blacks, by concessions of one sort or another, can easily be conciliated and induced to aid in repelling an invasion. The following paragraph from a letter to the *Times* may serve to indicate the policy of the local government:

> "We have a rumour that the Captain-General, finding his labour of love in black organizations, for white defence, is very hard of appreciation by the stubborn free born or free made negroes—and that the numbers do not flock to the black banner as he anticipated—has determined to advance their civil position, and under the law, free or bond, to give to all the same civil rights in every respect as pertain to the white citizen, without any distinction as far as mere personal rights are concerned. The same weight to their testimony, the same social privileges, and the propriety of intermarriage, where the tastes conform, to be sanctioned by law."

That the Slave Power deems the present a favourable moment for seizing Cuba, and that, to this end, it is endeavouring to bring about a rupture with Spain, there can be no doubt. Mr. Soulé, it would seem, is doing his best to foment a quarrel, and it is probable that he is only fulfilling the instructions of the Administration. The following letter will show what is the aspect of affairs at the Spanish Capital.

Correspondence of The London Times.
MADRID, Friday, April 21, 1854.

Mr. Soulé is reported to have said that *the settlement of the dispute with the United States would be greatly facilitated by the dismissal of the present Ministry;* and, although I by no means vouch for the truth of this report, and although such a suggestion from a foreign envoy would be pretty sure, with so haughty and jealous a people as the Spaniards, to defeat its own object, yet, should the dispute in question unfortunately lead to serious difficulties between the two countries the early downfall of the Cabinet might be one of its earliest results

Last night, in the saloon of an ex-minister, an idle report, which obtained no credit, of hostilities being imminent between Spain and the United States, brought on a discussion as to the probable consequences of such a struggle, especially as regards the island of Cuba Its garrison of upwards of twenty thousand men, and the improvements that have been made in its fortifications since the attack of the *Filibusteros*, afford, in the opinion of Spaniards, a *sufficient guarantee for the safety of that possession in the event of war with the United States*. The troops there are now armed with Minié rifles, instead of the wretched flint muskets, upwards of twenty years old, which were their weapons at the time of the piratical attempt above referred to. There are also Paixhan guns on the batteries of the island, and there is no reason to doubt that a stout defence would be made. But I incline to think that the Spaniards, although they may possibly not overrate their own military valour and means of defence, *underrate the prowess of their anticipated enemies.* They justly enough observe, that the successes of the Americans in their wars with the degenerate and undisciplined Mexicans are not to be taken as an argument that they would be equally successful in an attack on Cuba. At the same time they hardly take sufficiently into consideration the tenacious valour of the Anglo-Saxon race, the expert rifle practice of the Americans, and their abundance of wealth, the great element of success in war. *To any but Spaniards there can scarcely be a shadow of doubt as to the fate of Cuba in case of a war between Spain and the States*—supposing, of course, non-interference on the part of any powerful ally of the former country. At the same time America would not escape undamaged in a contest with this comparatively feeble country. *The ocean would be quickly covered with privateers under Spanish colours, and commerce would suffer greatly.* And at the last moment, when all hope was lost, I fully believe that Spain would *emancipate the slave* and abandon the island to them, sooner than see its darling possession — the "Queen of the Antilles," fall an easy prey and flourishing possession, into the hands of the ambitious and encroaching Republic which gives it so much uneasiness. I infer this, at least, from the tenor of conversation here, and I doubt not that the Spaniards, their ingenuity stimulated by their defeat and spoliation, would find means to leave the island in such a state as to give the Americans a vast deal of trouble, even after the last European had quitted its shores. *The more sensible men in this country admit that Cuba must, sooner or later, pass into the possession of the States;* but they admit it with a feeling of infinite bitterness, and with a stubborn resolution that the change of owners shall occur as late as possible and the prize be dearly bought by the conquerors.

After the above was in type, we found the following letter in the *Tribune*:

HAVANA, Thursday, May 11, 1854.

Men's faces here at present wear rather a rueful appearance, the measures being adopted by the present Governor-General being of a nature to threaten the existence of Slavery for any length of time. Without being an admirer of the institution or an apologist for its existence, still, now that my bread and butter are threatened by its abolition,* I must confess that I am in no manner anxious to see the sons of Africa made free in this island; and that is the case with the white Cuban, who, desiring his own liberty, cannot afford the emancipation of his slave.

There can be no doubt but that we are fast verging to a desperate state of things, and in spite of our desires and interests the blacks will be made free. All the movements of the Government have that tendency, as appears from the documents recently issued here. It is difficult to say what may happen when the slaves are emancipated; at times I think that the Cubans, on account of their peaceful dispositions, may submit to the stroke with a resignation which, if not Christian, may partake of that which Job exhibited under his afflictions. How it may be with the Spaniards, I cannot imagine, but the climate has a great effect upon even the Catalans, who, from being turbulent in Barcelona, become tame and managable in Havana. Some of this class of our inhabitants, who are not burdened with the care of owning slaves, are even not opposed to abolition, viewing it as an act for the preservation of the dominion of their beloved country in Cuba, and further, as their pecuniary affairs incline them to pay their their addresses to the amiable fair sex of Africa rather than to the disdainful white ladies of Cuba, they would not be displeased to see the objects of their devotion raised to an equality with the now privileged caste.

Among the Cuban population, even of the white class, there are many in favour of abolition, and there are others taking their stand among this class, not descendants from whites on their mothers' side, who would not dislike seeing all doubt as to their being as good as their neighbours, done away with by the equalization of the different races upon the island; further, the mass of the Cubans are too ignorant and indifferent to give the question any consideration. Those opposed to the measure are those having sugar estates, and those having their property in slaves, and those that run them from Africa, and others like myself, whose bread depends upon the flourishing condition of the sugar crop. We may amount to a few thousands, a few hundred of which number might probably oppose any change with force under favourable circumstances.

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*The frankness of the avowal is refreshing. [*Ed. Trib.*

CLERICAL DELICACY.—The Rev. Mr. Parker, Pastor of the congregation to which President Pierce belonged before his election, having declined signing the remonstrance against the Nebraska bill *from motives of delicacy*, his parish has concluded to dispense with his services and to procure a minister whose love of righteousness cannot be so easily overcome. The President should appoint his *delicate* friend to a vacant chaplaincy in the Army or Navy.

TRIBUTE TO MRS STOWE.

IN the [London] *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for May, we find the following correspondence, from which it appears that the sum raised in England and placed in Mrs. Stowe's hands for the promotion of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, is £1,800. In what way Mrs. Stowe proposes to use the money does not appear from the letter. Nor is she bound to disclose her plans, the contributions having been made unconditionally. That in this matter she will act from a high regard for the Anti-Slavery cause and from an ardent desire to promote the immediate abolition of Slavery, we entertain not the shadow of a doubt.

ADDRESS TO MRS. STOWE.

The Ladies' Committee who have been engaged in promoting the Testimonial to the authoress of *Uncle Tom' Cabin*, have now the gratification of presenting her with the sum of £1,800, collected in localities of which a list will hereafter be forwarded.

They feel assured that this tribute of respect and sympathy to Mrs. Stowe, will be none the less valued from its consisting, for the most part, of very small contributions from the middle and working-classes of this country. They trust that, with the Divine blessing, it will prove of service in the furtherance of those objects which she has indicated, as in her view, best adapted for the emancipation and elevation of the negro race in America.

Though the amount falls far short of their wishes, they have the satisfaction of believing that the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause have been advanced by the measure, and in this respect their efforts have been rewarded.

It is with the most lively feelings of pleasure and satisfaction that they have recently read Mrs. Stowe's letter, addressed to the Anti-Slavery Society in Glasgow, and especially her observations on the importance of the free-labour movement, and its present aspect in America. One leading desire of the Committee in connection with the work of collecting the tribute, was to point out to the people of England the large support given to the slave system of the United States, by the extensive use of the products of slave labour in this country; and they were most anxious that the readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* should be aroused to the conviction of the individual responsibility incurred by such consumption.

They tender to Mrs. Stowe their best wishes for her continual success in the great work in which she is engaged, and their fervent desire that she may live to see it completed in the extinction of Slavery in every State in the Union

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
L. E. STURGE,
M. R. MOORSOM.

Birmingham, Dec. 30th, 1853.

MRS. STOWE'S LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO THE LADIES' COMMITTEE.

DEAR FRIENDS: Permit me to acknowledge your letter, announcing the deposit of one thousand eight hundred pounds, subject to my order, as a testimony of the sympathies of the English people for the slave.

It is, to my mind, the more affecting and valuable from the circumstances you suggest; that is, that it consists of very small contributions from the middle and labouring classes.

Undoubtedly while the whole English nation in all its parts, from the highest to the lowest, feels for the cause of liberty and humanity, as represented by the slave, the feeling nowhere exists with more vehemence than in the middle and working classes. I am aware of the alacrity with which, in the cottages of the poor, the mite has been given which has gone to make up the sum, and it is the more holy and precious in my eyes from that remembrance.

I trust that God in his mercy will remember the working classes of England for the kindness they have shown to these poor oppressed ones of America: great have been their burdens, great their sorrows; but they still have liberty remaining to them, and with liberty all else may be hoped in time. The contribution given from their poverty to the slave is a most affecting proof how different a thing is freedom, even when beset with many trials, from Slavery.

It is, however, but justice to the nobility of England to say, that while their names do not appear on this testimonial, it is not therefore to be concluded that they were unwilling to express by deeds what they have shewn themselves willing to express in words.

Had not my health been so very precarious as to lead me to decline intimations which I received, and had I had in hand any definite project for the benefit of the slave, I have no doubt that considerable sums might have been placed in my hands from that source; but I invariably replied to all inquiries of the kind, that my object was not to solicit money, though I should not decline to make the best use in my power of what came into my hands unsolicited.

Notwithstanding this, it may be proper to say, that liberal aid has been placed in my hands by some as noble in soul as in blood, an unsolicited offering to relieve the sorrows of the slave. I mention this as a simple act of justice.

The cause of freedom in our country, at present, would seem to be in its darkest hour. The object now seems to be to open all the territories of the Union to Slavery by repealing the Missouri Compromise.

We can only refer the future to that God whose ways are unsearchable; Him by whom actions are weighed, whose counsel shall stand, and who will do all His pleasure. "He will make the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder thereof He will restrain."

Before this reaches you, this most important question will be decided, and the country will have passed through a most eventful crisis. What the result will be to our country is known to God alone; but that the cause of truth and right shall prevail, and Slavery, with every other wrong, perish before the coming of the Lord, is a glorious certainty.

In this hope I remain,
Yours very affectionately,
H. B. STOWE.

Andover, Feb. 8th, 1854.

CASTNER HANWAY'S PETITION.—In the Senate, on Monday last, Mr. Cooper, of Pa., presented a memorial from Castner Hanway, praying to be remunerated for expenses incurred in his trial under an indictment for treason—an indictment predicated upon his connection with the Christiana tragedy. The government failed not only to convict him of the crime with which he was charged, but even to prove that he had any responsible agency in the affair, unless it were to save the lives of some of the kidnappers by his advice to the fugitives and their friends to desist from violence. He had never been identified with the Abolitionists, and there was not a particle of evidence to show that he had taken any part in resisting the law. And yet he was imprisoned for months, to the great damage of his health, and subjected to a heavy expense in defending himself against an indictment as absurd and foolish as it was wicked and malignant. The Judges by whom he was tried found some pretext for refusing, contrary to the usual practice in such cases, to pay the witnesses for the defence, thus imposing upon an innocent man and an invalid a hopeles burden of debt. Senator Cooper, in presenting Mr. Hanway's petition, made a speech worthy of himself as the paid Attorney of Maryland and the meanest of doughfaces. Read his remarks, as reported by the *Globe*, and consider whether a Southern man, asking pay for lost human chattels, would not have been more earnest:

> Mr. President, I am requested to present a memorial, which is somewhat novel in its character. I, however, present it very willingly. It is a memorial from Castner Hanway, who was indicted in the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, at the November term of 1851, for treason, and who was acquitted. He alleges he was put to a very large expense in procuring the witnesses necessary for his vindication from the charge; that he was a considerable time in prison, by which his health was seriously impaired so far that he has never recovered it since, and that he has not been able to pay his counsel, nor defray the other expenses attendant upon his trial. He asks that a law may be passed embracing his case, authorizing the payment at least of the witness fees, which amount to something over $8,000.
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> I will state, Mr. President, that heretofore, in charges of that kind, at least in the trial which excited much interest in this country, that of Aaron Burr, an order was made by the court to pay the witnesses from day to day; and it was supposed to be a rule that the court had power to order the payment of witnesses on the part of the defence. Chief Justice Marshall, in the case to which I have referred, made such an order, and it was complied with by the marshal; but the Judges who tried Hanway, decided that they had no such power, and he was compelled to pay his own witnesses. I shall be very glad if the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom this may be referred, will examine the question, and if they think it in conformity with policy, justice, and propriety, that they will report a bill which reaches this case. There are accompanying the memorial letters stating the high character which this gentleman always bore, his peaceable demeanour, and his worth as a citizen. I ask that the petition and papers may be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.
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> They were so referred.

THE EUROPEAN WAR.—The opinion that England and France are insincere in their professions of friendship for Turkey, and that they do not intend to enter into any serious conflict with Russia, but only to share the Sultan's dominions with his Northern enemy, is daily gaining strength. The only important news by the last arrival is that of the unsuccessful bombardment of Odessa by the Allies. It seems that the British war-steamer Furious went to Odessa with a flag of truce to bring away the British and French Consuls from that place, and that after having got them on board, she was fired at from the shore. The British represent this act as a wanton violation of the rights of the flag of truce, for which summary vengeance must be taken. The Russians on the other hand say that after the Consuls were embarked, the ship remained in the harbour to enable the officers to take sketches of the fortifications, and that she was fired at simply to put an end to such impropriety. However this may be, the British and French Admirals agreed that something must be done, and accordingly a large force was sent to bombard the place. This operation does not seem to have been accomplished in a very brilliant way, for though the official details have not yet reached us, there is a report that several British ships were badly damaged in the progress of silencing the shore batteries, burning a few merchant ships in port, and knocking to pieces a palace belonging to Prince Woronzoff, not far from the water's edge. The town of Odessa they did not harm, as it is situated on the top of a hill comparatively out of the way. Having thus taken vengeance, they sailed away again.

On the Danube there is nothing new except the complete evacuation of Lesser Wallachia by the Russians, and their preparations to storm the fortress of Silistria. With a view to this they had concentrated a large force of artillery on the opposite bank, and were, as it is reported, about to fling across some 30,000 men for the assault.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.—We have no reason to suppose that the following letter was designed for publication, and yet we presume the writer will not object to see it in print. We publish it in order to show that Mr. Smith attaches quite as little importance as we do to the only point of difference between himself and the American Anti-Slavery Society, and because it adds another to the many evidences previously existing that such difference interposes no barrier to a hearty co-operation between that Society and himself in the prosecution of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

WASHINGTON, May 14th, 1854.

DEAR BROTHER JOHNSON: I thank you and Mr. Gay for giving up a large part of the *Standard* to the publication of my Speech on the Nebraska Bill. I am thankful, also, that the *Standard* indorses the most important positions and the general character of the Speech. Whether the Constitution is Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery is comparatively immaterial. That there can be no *law* for Slavery is the great doctrine of the Speech. Truly yours, GERRIT SMITH.

C. C. BURLEIGH is making a deep impression in Indiana by the eloquence with which he exposes the designs of the Slave Power. The Indianapolis *State Journal*, a conservative Whig paper, speaks of his lectures there in the following terms:

> "He urged the common and the strongest objecton to the measure that it deprived us of the territory we had paid for, and violated a fair compact. He further contended that the bill should be defeated, because it was another step in the wrong direction taken at the formation of the Constitution. The slave States, he said, never should have been admitted until they had commenced a system of emancipation, and that probably none but South Carolina and Georgia would have remained out even under this condition of reception. He believed that they would have stood out but a little while, as the neighbourhood of a free republic would have made slave property insecure and valueless, and they would have to choose between union without Slavery and isolation without it. The bill, he said, only yielded still further what has already been yielded too far.
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> His language was well chosen and forcible, his illustrations apt, and his acquaintance with the subject of Slavery thorough.

Mr. Burleigh went from Indianapolis to Hamilton County, whence he expected to proceed to Chicago.

JOHN FREEMAN'S DAMAGES.—Our readers will remember the case of John Freeman, of Indianapolis, Ia., who was claimed as a slave by one Ellington, but who, after much abuse and long imprisonment, was rescued from his perilous situation only by the discovery of the most indubitable evidence that he was a free man, and that the slave who had fled from Ellington was actually in Canada. Freeman, it will be remembered, brought suit against Ellington for damages and false imprisonment. When the case came on for trial, a few days since, Ellington's counsel consented, rather than do worse, that the jury should find a verdict for Freeman for $2,000 and costs. This we learn from the *Indiana Free Democrat*. This is a costly operation for the slave-catching Methodist, but it will teach other kidnappers to be careful as to the identity of their chattels.

PORTRAIT OF MR. GARRISON.—We take pleasure in informing our readers that Mr. WM. C NELL, of Boston, has just had executed, by *Grozelier*, a portrait of Mr. GARRISON, which is not only a fine work of art, but a striking and excellent likeness. We agree with WENDELL PHILLIPS in saying that it gives one of Mr. G's best expressions, and such a head as his best friends would be willing to point his severest critics to, and say, "That is the great *Anti-Slavery Pioneer*." It is sold for $1, and we hope its circulation may not only be sufficiently extensive to reward the enterprise of the publisher, but to secure the suppression of the very poor likenesses of Mr. G. heretofore issued. It will be kept for Sale at this office.

PUBLIC OPINION IN OHIO.—The *Cleveland Leader* estimates the circulation of those journals in Ohio which support and those which oppose the Nebraska villainy respectively as follows: Circulation of papers in favour of Douglas's bill, 34,000; of those against it, 203,000. Majority of Newspaper subscribers against Douglas, 167,000. A similar comparison in other States would no doubt give a similar result. But what do the slaveholders and their tools care for Northern opinion so long as they believe that the iniquity, once perpetrated, will be consented to and forgotten? When will the degraded and cheated North break the chains which bind her to the bloody car of Slavery?

DISUNION IN LIBERIA.—We see in the papers a statement that the Colony planted by the Maryland Colonization Society has dissolved its alliance with the Republic of Liberia. Henceforth, therefore, there will be two Republics instead of one.

SAMUEL LEWIS, one of the most eloquent champions of political Anti-Slavery at the West, has been very ill for some time past. Recently, however, he was pronounced convalescent; but we are sorry to learn from the Ohio *Columbian* that when last heard from he was lower than ever, and that there was little prospect of his recovery.

POLITICS.

A writer in the Ohio *Columbian* nominates for President in 1856, Hon. Thomas H. Benton, and for Vice President, Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

——There is said to be a fair chance of the election of Hon. Francis Gillette (Free Dem.) to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate created by the resignation of Hon. Truman Smith. There are several candidates for the long term, and the Whigs find it difficult to agree. We trust that no man with a weak back-bone will be able to get elected. There are Northern paltroons enough in the Senate already.

—— A correspondent of the *Express* gives the following version of the President's connection with the Nebraska bill. We think it more than probable that the writer tells the exact truth.

> "It is now conceded by the family connections of the President, that the Nebraska bill was forced on him by the management of Douglas, whom they regarded as occupying an attitude of hostility to the Administration, in spite of his profession of friendship. They accuse the little giant of the Prairies of a desire to break down the Administration, and with this instrument of Nebraska. They frankly admit that the President was opposed to the measure, and that he only gave it a reluctant approval through fear of being totally abandoned by the South. This is undoubtedly a correct statement of the whole affair. It was a snare set by the crafty Douglas, wherein to catch a Presidental gudgeon, who was hardly expected to bite. The gudgeon did bite however, and was caught; and being caught, the fisherman with all his craft does not know what to do with him. He begins to think he has caught a Tartar, who will neither let go nor take himself off; but who seems determined to stick to him as the old man of the sea did to Sinbad the Sailor."

——In this State a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Canal Commissioner, Superintendent of Schools, and an Inspector of State Prisons, will be elected next fall. There is little probability that the two wings of the Sham Democracy will support the same candidates, consequently the Whigs will have an easy victory. There has been some talk of running Mr. Seward for Governor, but the plan is supposed to be given up. The *Tribune* warns the party that no man can be elected who will not avow himself unequivocally for the Maine Law.

—— A correspondent of the *Philadelphia Register*, having visited the White House, gives his opinion of its principal occupant in pretty plain terms. He says:

> "The President is the most insignificant looking man, I believe, and that is saying a good deal, that I saw in Washington. He has a boyish aspect, with a little of the German caste of cheek, and looks about as much like his portraits—well, I suppose he suggested them. But there is none of that *iron* look and feature which they gave him. He was civil, with an unmeaning simper upon his '*soft*' face (the President is clearly and by original constitution and temper, a '*soft*'), and his manner was easy enough for aught I know, but I thought he liked to get through with it as quickly as possible, as, of course, he did. A fellow "Yankee," by way of enlivening the monotony a little, and relieving the President from some Presbyterian dominies who had him in hand, observed to him that he supposed these were not among the most onerous of his duties. "No, they were not." "I hope you find them agreeable recreations, rather?" said our Yankee. "Well, he confessed that he did find them rather agreeable than otherwise;" but this was said with misgiving, and his eye fell, and he immediately made a very low bow to the Presbyterian clergyman and withdrew to another part of the room. And that was the wealth of remark that he had to our hearing upon that occasion; and so he was discomfited and put *hors du combat* by the light artillery of our friend. (He didn't faint). That was the penalty he payed for being out of his place, in a false position. When, in this free Democracy, will little men learn that they cannot fill great situations? and that they had better not try—that they can decline?
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> I do not know what *politicians* may do in the future —for let it be understood that the politicians make the Presidents now-a-days—but the present experiment satisfies, and will satisfy not a few, but many, of the policy, expediency and fitness of putting second rate, or third or tenth rate, or men not rated at all, in the Presidental chair. That policy has culminated here; it is quite run into the ground I do not think they could easily, any farther, go in that direction."

SUMMARY.

A Temperance Mass Convention will be held in Auburn on the 6th of June. The Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is expected to speak.

A number of coloured persons in New Bedford have petitioned the city to have the names of coloured persons placed in the jury box. The petition will probably be granted.

Dr. Charles Jewett, the veteran Temperance lecturer, has accepted a situation in connection with the educational institution at Batavia, Kane County, Ill., as a teacher of the advanced classes in physiology and agricultural chemistry. He has purchased a farm in that place, and has already removed thither with his family.

Charles Irving, of the *Lynchburg* (Va) *Republican*, has challenged the Hon. Phillip S. White, the great temperance lecturer, to fight a duel, in consequence of some remarks which Mr. White had made in a public address in that city. Mr. W. replied that he was under engagements until the 10th of June, but should be happy to meet Mr. Irving on the 12th of June at the United States Hotel in Philadelphia.

BAYARD TAYLOR AT OBERLIN.—This distinguished traveler delivered his lecture on "the Arabs," to an audience of two thousand in Oberlin, on the 3d instant. A company selected for the occasion, furnished appropriate music, both before and after the lecture. The first song sung, was composed by Mr. Taylor, as he was journeying homeward, on account of the illness of his betrothed lady, whom he afterwards married, a short time before her demise.

ANOTHER MAINE LAW TRIUMPH.— Edward P. Knowles, supported by the friends of Temperance and good order, was chosen Mayor of the City of Providence on the 10th instant, by a majority of over three hundred. The seven Aldermen elected are Whigs, and the Common Council stands 22 Whigs and 6 Democrats. The result, however, is not a partisan triumph, but a victory in favour of Temperance, achieved by the combined efforts of both Whigs and Democrats. A large majority of the Common Councilmen are friends of a Prohibitory Law, and so are six of the seven Aldermen.

THE CITY OF GLASGOW.—There can scarcely be the shadow of a doubt that this steamship with her precious freight of four hundred lives, is lost. Not the slightest clue has yet been found to her movements since her departure from Europe, and it is much to be apprehended that none ever will. She had on board 64 cabin passengers, including about a dozen children, besides 299 passengers in the steerage, making, with her crew, about 400 souls in all. She had also a very valuable cargo, estimated to be worth about $1,000,000.

Wm. W. Morris, a free man, of excellent moral character, having visited his wife in Philadelphia and returned to Virginia, and that fact having come to the knowledge of the Mayor, Morris was arraigned before his Honour on a charge of remaining in the Commonwealth contrary to law. After a full investigation into all the facts, the Mayor took time to consider the law in such cases, and yesterday announced that however repugnant to his feelings, the law left him no option in such matters—and that Morris must leave the State in ten days, or incur the penalties consequent upon disobedience. Judge Crump, Morris's counsel, appealed from the Mayor's decision, and the case will be carried before a higher court.—*Richmond Mail.*

DR. N. FIELD—AN AMUSING INCIDENT.—During the trial of the recent case of kidnapping at Jeffersonville, a slaveholder of Louisville was in attendance, and very much concerned about the result. Before it commenced he addressed Dr. Field thus: "Why, doctor, if you break up this business of catching negroes, all our slaves will run off." "Well," replied the doctor, "we have granted you all the laws that you have ever asked for, to enable you to recapture them, and if you cannot hold them without violating those laws and doing injustice to the free negroes, you will have to set up at night and watch them or else makes cages and lock them up. This is all the consolation I can give you." The by-standers and the slaveholder himself laughed heartily at the suggestion.—*Ind. Free. Dem.*

CLERICAL ORATORS.—The selection of Rev. A. L. Stone, of the Park Street Church, as the orator before the Municipal Authorities at the approaching Anniversary of American Independence, is the fifth instance in which a clergyman has been selected for that service, since the people of Boston, in 1783, voted to substitute the celebration of the Fourth of July for the observances of the anniversary of the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770. The others selected were Rev. Dr. Stillman (1789), Rev. Wm. Emerson (1802), Rev. Hubbard Winslow (1838), Rev. Thomas S. King (1852). A clergyman was appointed orator in but one instance during the period from 1771 to 1783, when the anniversary of the Massacre was yearly observed. Rev. Peter Thacher was the orator March 5, 1776. It is half a century since the orator was selected from the medical profession, thouge five of the first fourteen municipal orations were pronounced by physicians.—*Boston Transcript.*

The Richmond *Enquirer* is not satisfied with the mode in which the peculiar institution of Mormonism was discussed the other day in the House of Representatives, and calls for heroic treatment. It says:

> "It is remarkable with what squeamish délicacy the thing is handled by Congress. The vile imposture that should be torn up by the roots, is touched with all the tender care with which a woman trims her frail flowers. Such timid treatment will only aggravate the disease. The knife, and nothing but the knife, will serve the purpose. By some measure of prompt and thorough efficacy, Congress must rid the country of the scandal of Mormonism."

Our Virginia censor seems to forget that slave breeding polygamy and concubinage are handled even more squeamishly, though far more flagrant and odious than anything known to Mormonism. Before calling on Congress to eradicate the offence from Utah, the *Enquirer* had better turn its attention to Virginia and the slave-growing regions generally.—*Tribune.*

POLYGAMY IN UTAH.—Congress is in a quandary, and don't know what to do with Brother Orson and his harem of helpmates. Congress is shocked at the idea of a man, however pious, with thirty wives, and gentlemen propose to make the patriarchs of Utah abolish that oriental institution, before opening the door of the Union. Twenty-nine wives must each elder give up and abandon, before the polygamous territory can come in. It is for the sons of Smith to decide whether this will not be paying too much for the privilege, considering the general condition of the Union at the present time.

It is a pleasing evidence of the versatility of human powers, this facility with which our chaste Congressmen swallow the camel of no marriage at all in Nebraska, and reluct at the gnat of polygamy in Utah. Physiologists tell us that man is bountifully furnished with two stomachs, and we believe it, for without a double arrangement of the kind, it is impossible to see how members of Congress could do their duty, or how John Van Buren, with his sweet train of softs, could bolt Nebraska with complacency, after having exhibited such virtuous and genuine qualms at the very thought of introducing Slavery in California.—*New Bedford Mer.*

EXCITEMENT AT CLEVELAND.—There was a rumor in town yesterday that some Southerners were here in pursuit of fugitive slaves. Whether there was any foundation for the rumour we could not learn to a certainty, although there is strong ground for the belief that some hunters of slave property are in town. At all events the coloured population are in a state of considerable excitement, and last night a numerous body, armed for any emergency, met, and a sharp lookout was kept till 2 o'clock this morning. The following is a copy of a hand-bill which was extensively circulated through the city, not posted, but placed in front yards and under doors: "Men of Cleveland! look out for kidnappers and slave-catchers! They are here! Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty!" Some of the more prominent coloured men say that five men are certainly here after fugitives, who have resided here for some time, but that they shall never be taken. Should it be true, and those in search get their eyes upon the person or persons sought after, we may expect a demonstration such as was never witnessed in Cleveland before. We await what time will develop.—*Cleveland Plaindealer 10th ult.*

THE WILMOT DISTRICT IN MOTION.—We learn from the Bradford *Argus*, that a meeting of the Democracy of Bradford County, opposed to the Nebraska bill, was held at Towando, on Tuesday the 2d instant, at which Col. Gordon F. Mason, formerly State Senator, presided, and which was addressed by Hon. David Wilmot, and who is said not to have neglected in his speech to rap the knuckles of the dodging gentleman upon the Democratic ticket for Governor of Pennsylvania.

When Judge Wilmot had concluded his speech, he offered a paper—in substance an address or declaration of principles, to the democracy of the State—which was passed by the meeting unanimously. In his speech and paper both, the Judge boldly declared the Nebraska question to be a issue, and one that would overthrow the democracy in every free State of the Union, that attempted to back its passage as a party question. The address called upon our State Representatives to pass, immediately, the anti-Nebraska Resolutions, which have for some time been pending before that body; and in case of its refusal to pass them, then the democracy of the State are called upon to meet in Convention, to take such action thereon as the exigency of the case may require.

The *Richmond Enquirer* copies our statement of the fact that Professor Allen, a mulatto, who was recently hunted from the interior of our State on a well-founded suspicion that he intended to marry a white girl, is now lecturing in England to crowded houses—and thus comments:

> "Such is the consistency of the Abolitionists. They teach the equality of the races and declaim against the social proscription of the negro; but let some 'mulatto' purpose to marry a 'white girl,' and straightway they 'hunt him out of the State.' Their doctrines are beautiful only in theory; they object to practical amalgamation."

The *Enquirer* ought to know that no Abolitionist had anything to do with the hunting away of Prof. Allen. All such outrages have been the work of the lowest and meanest class of whites, who are here, without exception, bitter anti-Abolitionists, and particularly furious against "amalgamation." We have a pretty large acquaintance throughout the Free States, and don't happen to know one drunken vagabond, obscene rowdy or shiftless loafer who is not a violent opponent of all manner of Abolition. Every human being who is not heartily and practically a Christian is naturally and instinctively an aristocrat: he wants to look down on somebody; and if he has nothing but the colour of his skin to base his aristocracy upon, he has to make the most of that. We presume most Abolitionists would advise a white woman not to marry a coloured man, if their advice were asked on the point; but all mobbing on account of such alliances is done by the slaveholders' very meanest Northern tools. Will the South remember this?—*Tribune.*

LUCY STONE—*A Sketch.*—A friend contributes the following:

> "Partly in Warren and partly in West-Brookfield, Mass., lies a grand old hill, which was pointed out to us as we passed over the Western Railroad, Massachusetts, and half-way up its eastern slope, whose elevation costs a good hour's walk among big rocks that most resemble little barns, lies the farm-house of Francis Stone—a jolly, well-to-do old farmer of Puritan New England stamp, who made Coy's Hill his home in early manhood, and with a wife congenial in spirit, there brought up a family of seven, four of them still on earth—of whom one, Lucy, the world-known Lucy Stone, is a younger member. With the kitchen work for months and an occasional out-door life, when the hay or grain might get a wetting, with picking chesnuts in the woods and apples in the orchards, with driving up the cows and milking, with playing hull-gull and telling stories at the winter fire-side, and the thousand little toils and pleasures with brothers and sisters of life at home, and six months yearly at the district school, where lessons were dispatched by a single reading and the rest of the day left for play, Lucy passed her earliest girlhood.
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> "Passing intermediate events—her struggle with Dame Fortune, who denied her a prize, while she gave her an ardent thirst for knowledge and the happiest and rarest method of communicating it—we will find her next standing, first, in one of the best classes of Oberlin College, where she helped herself by teaching—and no one could satisfy her classes so well as Lucy—honoured and loved and respected by students and Professors. The sequel up to the present our readers know already, for since leaving Oberlin, some six years ago, her life has been in public.
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> "Taking a first position in the work of general reform, teaching by example as well as precept, a woman of most attractive manner both on and off the platform, with the persevering industry that merits high reward, she has won for herself a position in the public estimation beyond the fear of criticism. The friends of school-girl days say of her, 'I never met Lucy when she had not something interesting to say;' the Editorial Reporters say, 'Lucy's speeches shall always find a place in our columns;' and the best critics own, 'I have never, anywhere, heard a speaker whose style of eloquence I more admired;' the pride of her acquaintances, the idol of the crowd, wherever she goes the people *en masse* turn out to hear Lucy Stone, nor ever weary of her stirring eloquence."—*Ohio Statesman.*

THE ROLL OF INFAMY.—The Representatives from Free States named below voted on Monday, May 8th, to take up the Kansas-Nebraska bill with a view to urge its immediate passage, viz.:

Maine—Moses McDonald.
New Hampshire—Harry Hibbard.
Massachusetts—None. *Rhode Island*—None.
Connecticut—Colin M. Ingersoll. *Vermont*—None.
New York—Thos. W. Cummings, Hiram Walbridge, Mike Walsh, William M. Tweed, William A. Walker, John J. Taylor—6.
New Jersey—Samuel Lilly, George Vail—2.
Pennsylvania—Thomas B. Florence, John Robbins, Jr., William H. Witte, John McNair, Samuel A. Bridges, Christian M. Straub, Hendrick B. Wright, Asa Packer, William H. Kurtz, John L. Dawson, Michael C. Trout—11.
Ohio—David T. Disney, Fred. W. Green, Edson B. Olds—3.
Indiana—Smith Miller, Wm. H. English, Cyrus L. Durham, James H. Lane, Thomas A. Hendricks, John G. Davis, Norman Eddy—7.
Illinois—James C. Allen, Willis Allen, Wm. A. Richardson—3.
Michigan—David Stuart, B. A. Noble, Saml. Clark —3.
Iowa—Bernhardt Henn.
California—Milton S. Latham, J. A. McDougall—2.

Total, 41 from Free States; to whom add J. Glancy Jones, of Pa., who paired off in favour of the bill, which was the same as voting for it.

MARRIED.

BARNARD—MARSH.—On Fifth day, the 4th instant, at the house of Bennett Marsh, in West Brandywine Township, Chester Co., Pa., by the order of Progressive Friends, Eusebius Barnard, to Sarah B. Marsh, both of Chester Co.

Collections and Pledges

Made at the Annual Meeting of the A. S. Society.

Henry Jones, New York,	$1 00
Edward Spalam, "	1 00
S. C. Barton, "	1 00
Thos. Van Renselear, New York,	0 50
A Friend, "	0 25
Francis Jackson, "	1 00
Francis Donaldson, Sen., England,	25 00
A. B. Blackwell, Cincinnati,	2 00
Edward V. Clark,	1 00
F. Henson,	0 50
Robert Purvis, Byberry, Penn.,	10 00
James Purer, Pleasantville,	1 00
John Ketchum, Jerico, L. I.,	5 00
Joseph Carpenter, New Rochelle,	6 00
A. Phillips, New Hope,	2 00
Joseph Post,	20 00
Isaac and Amy Post,	3 00
M. B. Trimble, New York,	10 00
R. B. Neall, New Jersey,	1 00
Sarah H. Marshall, New York,	1 50
R. R. Richmond, Walworth, N. Y.,	5 00
J. P. Andrew,	1 00
H. H. Johnson,	1 00
Friend,	0 50
Dr. E. D. Hudson,	5 00
Mr. J. Rose,	1 00
Pliny Sexton,	2 00
Cash,	1 00
R Johnson,	3 00
O. Garretson, Penn.,	0 50
Cash,	0 50
Dr. Boyle, College Place, N. Y. City,	10 00
Cash,	1 50
John Hall,	1 00
C. F. Eddy,	1 00
Mary Jackson,	1 00
Johnson Davis,	1 00
Asa Fairbanks,	2 00
Cash,	1 00
Mrs. Rose,	1 00
Allen Agnew and wife,	5 00
Eliza Agnew,	1 00
A Friend,	1 00
Cash,	1 00
Phebe T. Atkinson,	5 00
Debbi B. Smith,	3 00
Mary B. Hester,	3 00
J. D. Yates, Boston,	5 00
D. Fergerson, Westchester,	1 00
Friend,	0 25
D. B. Morey,	3 00
Samuel May, Jr. Lecester,	3 00
W. L. Garrison, Boston,	1 00
Elias Smith,	2 00
S. H. Gay,	1 00
	$168 00
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D. Furgurson, Westchester,	3 00
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William Walley, 16 W. Broadway, N. Y.,	2 00
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L. Wetmore,	200 00
E. Quincy,	100 00
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Phebe Richmond, Henrietta, New York,	5 00
Harriet Jacobs,	2 00
Mary H. Johnson,	1 00
E. M. Davis, Penn.,	50 00
James Mott, "	50 00
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Miscellaneous Department.

AN HOUR WITH LAMENNAIS.

One day, in Paris, a friend proposed that we should make a call upon the famous Abbe de Lamennais, whose recent death restores the incident to my memory. As I had been a reader of his books, and to some extent an admirer of them, and knew the extraordinary vicissitudes through which the distinguished author, the earnest soldier of liberty, had passed, I readily consented to the proposal.

While we were walking across the Tuileries garden and up Rue de Rivoli, towards the *Palais Royale*, where Lamennais lodged, I had time to gather out of the conversation of my friend and my own readings, a few particulars of his life. And what a strange, struggling, sorrowful, earnest life it was! At first the infidel, dazzled by the flashing witticism of Voltaire—next the priest, almost bigoted in the defence of his order—then the Christian reformer thundering his anathemas against the abuses of his mother—next the republican and socialist, striving to guide the wild spirits of a revolution—and, finally, the retired sage, saddened but not subdued by disappointment, and still uttering out of the shadows of the night that was fast approaching, such words of wisdom as had come to him in his long and weary seventy years of battle! There was surely enough in such a man to excite my curiosity to see him!

Lamennais was born at St. Malo, about the year 1782, of parents who were not wealthy, but who had accumulated sufficient property in trade, to put it in their power to give him a good education. His taste for reading was so precocious that his father, abandoning his original intention of making a merchant of him, designed him for the church. But, unfortunately for this project, the reading which was then in the ascendant, was that which originated with Voltaire and the other brilliant skeptics of the eighteenth century. Clear, witty, audacious, seductive, and with just enough of science in it to give consistency to its frothy but piquant sentiment, it was the very thing to captivate the admiration of the ardent but shallow young student of Bretagne. He was, therefore, quite carried away at first by its plausibilities, but being of a profoundly religious nature, at the same time, he soon began to feel the wants of the new literature. With all its smooth logic, and glowing sentiment, it did not, somehow or other, touch his heart. A deep void was there, which it did not fill up—a yearning for something purer, nobler, higher, which it could not satisfy.

The truth was, that the word Infinite was ringing through the chambers of Lamennais's heart—as it does so often ring through the hearts of all men who honestly think—and he felt that he was not a mere creature of time and sense; that life was an awful and eternal reality; that above and beyond the interests and politics of to-day, there was a world of spiritual truths, more active and lasting than nature; and that, therefore, no philosophy which looked no higher than nature, and a merely natural God, could solve the problems which he had raised about existence. He discarded the bantering, mocking, specious philosophy of the new school—but, alas! had nowhere to fly. He was tormented with perplexities and doubts. He studied, he inquired, he thought, he consulted, he tried to hope, but a disastrous darkness seemed to settle more and more over the intellectual world, and he was about to relinquish thought in despair.

In this condition of mind, he was accosted by the idea of the Christian Church, which in the deeply-moved and almost feverish state of his sensibilities, was received by him as a glory from the skies. It was an ideal of life so beautiful, so grand, so full of peace and good will, that it kindled in his mind all the ardour of devotion. A vast brotherhood, devoted irreclaimably to the love of God, and the love of man, sanctioned by the holiest remembrances and names of Christian antiquity, possessing through its councils a perpetual inspiration, mighty in its organization, and spreading itself over the whole world, in order to fuse the separated members of humanity into a great living unity, holding the same faith, worshipping in the same temple, anticipating the same heaven of harmony and happiness, was a conception so magnificent and touching that he longed to consecrate himself to its service. He plunged, therefore, at once, neck and heels, as the children say, into the Church of Rome.

Accepting a professorship of mathematics in the college of St. Malo, he partook of his first communion there, and began to prepare himself for the priesthood. In the interval, he published his first work, a translation of the old ascetic book of Louis Le Blois, called the *Spiritual Guide*, and the next year (1808) an original work, entitled *Reflexions sur l'etat de l'Eglise;* or reflections upon the state of the Church. The latter shows to what height he had carried his ecclesiastical theories, for he condemns the vassalage to which he conceived the Church to have been reduced under the reign of Napoleon, and boldly asserted the doctrine of its rightful supremacy over the State. As the vicegerent of God upon earth, the Church, he maintained, was an authority superior to any political body, which should never be made a mere political machine, and never subject itself to any civil laws, but on the contrary, give laws to the world. The vehemence, however, with which he assailed the despotism of the Emperor in behalf of the despotism of the clergy, caused his book to be suppressed by the government.

In the year 1811 he assumed the tonsure, but retained his place at the seminary, which was under the control of his brother, in conjunction with whom he wrote a book, on *La tradition de l'Eglise sur l'institution des eveques*, or the doctrine of the Church on the institution of bishops; displaying great learning and acuteness, and receiving the most unlimited applause from the ultramontane section of Catholics. It shows to what extent Lamennais had adopted the ancient theories, that he was earnestly in favour of the restoration of the Bourbons, and manifested his zeal so openly in their behalf, that when Napoleon returned during the Hundred Days, he was compelled to fly to England, to escape the persecutions of the imperialists. There he lived in the greatest indigence and obscurity, for several months, earning a miserable pittance by an usher in a school kept for emigrants by the Abbe Rennes in London. It is related of him, that in the course of this exile he applied to the distinguished Lady Jerningham, a sister of Lord Stafford, for the place of tutor in her family, then vacant. He was small and thin in person; his face pale and emaciated, his look downcast and troubled, his gait awkward and shuffling, and his dress such as the dresses of those who have not a cent to get bread with, are apt to be. In other words, it was out at the elbows and seedy. The dignified lady gazed at him with surprise, not unmingled with contempt, and finally ejaculating that "he looked too much like a fool to become a successful teacher," sent him away. Poor Lamennais—subsequently a power and glory in Paris, to be dismissed in this fashion by a fashionable lady!

On the second expulsion of Bonaparte he returned to his native land, and the year after (1816) was formally ordained a priest. He signalized the event by the publication of his Essay on Religious Indifference (*Essai sur l' Indifference en matieres de Religion*), which excited the most lively sensation on all sides, and gave him fame and position at once as a writer. Seven or eight editions were immediately called for, and innumerable reviews and replies attempted. The impetuous boldness of the style, the precision and force of the reasoning, the rare beauty of the language, but above all, the warmth and enthusiasm, as well as the elevation of the sentiment, startled the sensual dreamers of France, while they won and captivated all who were aspiring to a purer existence. Never had the prevailing immorality been assaulted in more vigorous terms, never had skepticism been more acutely probed and anatomized—and never had the consistency and the glory of Christianity been presented in strains more winning and beautiful. It was a book in which a large, generous and poetic mind poured out its lamentations over the discords and disorders of society, expressed its thorough disgust at the petty aims and low ambitions of the world, and proclaimed with the jubilant elastic joy of a soul emancipated from trammels and littleness, the exalted solace which it had found in the bosom of God. Awake, it said to France, so long immersed in the grossest incredulity—while the fires of faith had almost burned out upon the altar—"awake to hope, to charity, to the life of God in the soul, to a new career for our humanity on earth! Behold the Church, venerable with years, yet fresh as an infant—the depository of all truth, the source of all life—which the storms of the Past have not effected, and which in the Future is destined to an imperishable sway—that Church opens her arms to receive you, and will bear you on to an immortal glory."

The eloquence and sincerity of this appeal, won for the author the title of the modern Champion of the Church—the new Bossuet, or as Pope Leo XII himself expressed it, "the latest of the Fathers" A cardinal's hat even was offered to him, but he refused it, because he had his own purposes to prosecute, which could best be prosecuted out of office. He hoped under the government of the Restoration to bring about the enfranchisement of the Church, but it was evident that he knew little of the spirit of a tyrannical government. The chiefs of the monarchy were just as eager to use it as a tool as Napoleon had been, and when he again thundered a protest in his Considerations on the relations of religion and the civil order (*La Religion Consideree dans ses rapports avec l'ordre civile et politique*), he was just as savagely fined and persecuted. His bold and burning sentences fell like so many flakes of snow upon the rocky breasts of Louis and his ministers. It was not for the like of them—not at all—to relinquish any portion of their power to any Church—though immediately descended from Heaven. As a convenience, they were glad to keep on terms with the Church; as an auxiliary in forcing the submission of the people, it was really quite a divine and useful institution—but when it undertook to set up for itself, and to dictate to the conscience of kings, it was carrying the matter altogether too far. Religion and morals were excellent things in themselves, but must remain subordinate to the transcendent virtues of state craft and policy.

Lamennais, it will be seen, did not take much by his motion with his friends the Bourbons. Indeed, nobody except their few male and female favourites ever did—and so, when they were driven out a second time, in 1830, and he was once more allowed to speak, he turned to the Church itself with an appeal that it should forthwith declare its independence. In order to carry on the persuasion with more effect, he established a journal, called *L' Avenir*, or the Future, which he edited with characteristic zeal and energy, having the occasional assistance of Count Montalembert, the Abbé Gerdet, and the Abbé Lacordaire, since become so famous in Paris for his oratory. Their leading object was to arouse the Catholic Church to a feeling of the moral functions of which it was capable, and to impel it forward to a career of active beneficence and love; or, to use their own words, they hoped "to batter to the earth the empire of Force, and to supply its place by a reign of justice and charity, which should realize among the members of the great human family, individuals and people, that unity, in which each man, being a part of the life of all men, participates in the common good, under circumstances more favourable to the development of this common good"—in short, to give free course to the Gospel of Christ, which is the great bond and cement of a glorious human fraternity. They spoke boldly to all classes, and especially to the Papacy and its friends, neither concealing, slurring, nor mitigating the truth. "Your power," they exclaimed, "is fast passing away, and with it the holy faith! Would you save both? Unite them to the destinies of humanity. Nothing in this world, remember, is stationary. If your religion does not advance with mankind, if it does not keep time with the pulsations of the human heart, it must fall back and decay. You have reigned over kings, and now stretch forth your hands to the people; they will sustain you with their strong arms, and, what is better, with their love! Abandon your worldly wrecks, the remains of your ancient grandeur—the sombre memories of the past—the hope of reviving splendours that are utterly ruined—spurn them all with your feet as unworthy of you—and advance to your true dignity and power!"

Seconding his words by his deeds, Lamennais founded a society for the "Defence of Religious Liberty," which speedily numbered a multitude of adherents in all parts of France. Its principal objects were, to redress the grievances of ecclesiastics improperly restrained of their freedom; to establish primary, secondary, and superior schools among the people, independent of the state; to maintain the right of all men to assemble peacefully together, for educational, social, or religious purposes, and to promote a friendly intercourse among all the people, and particularly among the people of the different nations. The better to carry forward this last part of his scheme, he instituted a subscription for the starving Irish, which soon reached a large amount—he preached in aid of the Polish refugees—and he proclaimed the necessity of intervening in behalf of the Italian states who were the victims to Austrian despotism. Thus it will be seen that he was getting over unconsciously upon the most democratic grounds; yet he still clung to his Church, and was fond enough to believe that the Church, instituted as it had been for the good of all men, would yet come round to his side. Ah! he misconceived the Church, and we can fancy how some of the more knowing priests, as they watched the impotent efforts of his young enthusiasm, from their cosy retreats, laughed with an inextinguishable guffaw! Many miracles have been wrought in this world, but such a miracle as Lamennais hoped for—the conversion of an old, wealthy, and comfortable ecclesiastical organization into a disciple of progress and humanity—was out of the case. The attempt proves him to have been very sincere, but very green. Nor is he at all relieved of the imputation of verdancy by the fact that he made a visit to Rome, to see Pope Gregory in person, and to explain to him the views he professed. For, unfortunately, the governments of Austria, Russia and Prussia had visited Rome before him, and had quietly told Gregory to clap an extinguisher upon his head. Any man who could proclaim the doctrine "that where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," must be an innovating revolutionary rascal, and, priest or no priest, was wholly unfit for respectable society. Gregory, therefore, would not see Lamennais—would not read his memorial—would not give him the slightest countenance—in short, sent him away with a big flea in his ear. Poor fellow! we should rather say, with a stone at his heart. His dream was broken, the glory that had gathered about the brow of mother Church was faded—the hopes of a regenerate future scattered like spray by the wind. Dejected and baffled, he was overtaken on his way back to Paris at Munich, by the Encyclical Letter of 1832, which gave him pretty clearly to understand what the red caps of Rome thought of his notions—which spoke of them as mere "ravings"—which denounced liberty of conscience as "an absurd maxim"—the liberty of the press as "a fatal liberty, not to be thought of without horror," and which also declared every resistance to a legitimate prince to be "a crime." What a thunderbolt for the priestly reformer!

But the Church was not done with him yet! It was not enough for it to have denounced his offence, to have overturned all his plans, and to have exposed his failure to the mocking world. It must make Lamennais himself acknowledge that he had been an idiot and a goose, adding to the terrible mortification of defeat the debasing humiliation of a penitential confession. How otherwise could it crush his soul? He suppressed his paper, he broke up his agency, he conformed externally to all requirements—was not that sufficient to appease the good Lady? No! He must also subscribe to every sentiment and letter of the encyclical condemnation! In vain he expostulated, in vain he entreated, in vain he begged for time, there was no wavering or relenting in the Infallible. At last, amid many qualms of conscience and overwhelming tortures of mind, Lamennais—"to give his troubled spirit peace," as he said—signed his adherence to the Church. He was not yet able to sever the ties which bound him to the foster-mother of his spirit.

Peace! great God, what peace can there be in a compromise of truth, independence and sincere conviction! Instead of extinguishing the inward fires of the soul, by the concession, he had only kindled them anew; they raged and blazed with tenfold fury; they consumed his heart. Retiring to the solitudes of Britanny, to Chenaye, where twenty years before, full of zeal for the Church, he had written his first work on the Institution of Bishops, he communed with his thoughts, and meditated the course he ought to pursue. It was impossible, he saw, to tear from his mind those great convictions of freedom, duty, right, which had become a part of his life—it was impossible for the Church or any other institution, powerful as it might be, to crush his aspirations and the aspirations of mankind for a better future; it was the most dreadful of blasphemies to suppose that humanity must be for ever given over to the degradations and wrongs of the existing state of things, and he could not, would not relinquish his hopes of a truly Christian emancipation and progress. He had appealed to the monarchs to take the leadership of the movement, and they had answered him with exiles and fines; he had appealed to the Church itself, to act worthily of its vocation and baptism, and the Church had crammed his words, wrapped in an odious recantation, down his throat, for an answer; to whom then could he make a last appeal, but to the People? They were above all monarchies and churches—the universal mind of man their senate-house—the universal heart of man their consistory and synod. Away, then, with tiaras and red cloaks, and gowns and cowls, and all the trumpery symbols of hardened and deceitful power!

The clergy, not hearing from Lamennais for some months, had fancied that he was silenced; but suddenly, in the midst of the calm, there shot forth a little book called the "Words of a Believer" (*Paroles d'un Croyant*), which fell like lightning from a clear sky. It was a gage of war thrown down into the ecclesiastical arena, against all comers—a shout of defiance screamed against the Pope and his Cardinals—a declaration of independence which made the old hierarchies tremble in their seats. Free minds everywhere caught it up with rapture, and from that time forward Lamennais became the acknowledged leader of the liberal religious movement in France. The singular purity and clearness of the thought, his moving and pathetic eloquence, his strong poetical and religious sentiment, have given a wide popularity to the many books that he has since published, each one, as it appeared, enforcing in more vigorous terms the great principles of democracy, which are the principles of humanity, the principles of Christianity, and showing that his manly spirit once emancipated from its early fetters, has advanced with a certain and steady progress, in the path of a true Christian freedom. Ever true to his original conviction of the brotherhood of man, he has never once swerved from any conclusion to which that frontal truth may lead. No threats, no prosecutions, no prison-houses could shake him from his purposes.

During the revolution of 1848, Lamennais took a leading part, acting generally with the democratic socialists, but too independent always to be the slave of any party. He was a member of both the constituent and the legislative Assemblies, speaking, however, only twice in those bodies; once against dictatorship of Cavaignac, and secondly to request that he should be included in the prosecution against *Le Peuple Constituente*, a newspaper of which he was one of the editors. When the insurrection of June was forcibly suppressed, by those who pretended to be the friends of the people, he retired from public life with extreme mortification and disgust. He passed the latter part of his days in the revision of his works, and in the preparation of a translation of Dante's Divina Commedia for the press.

At the time of the visit to which I referred in the outset of this biographical sketch, which has extended beyond my wish, he occupied rooms on the highest story of one of the houses of the *Palais Royale*. Like his friend Béranger, therefore, he could sing,

"I mount to my garret on the sixth floor."

As we ascended the staircase, we met a lady descending, who was dressed in black, with a careworn, but most expressive and intellectual face, and who slightly bowed to us, as all French ladies would under the same circumstances, as we passed. Who she was, you shall see in the sequel.

"Is the Abbé at home?" we inquired of an ancient female, when out of breath, we had reached the last of the six flights. "He is," she replied, "but scarcely able to see any one." We sent in our names, however, and were admitted.

The room was a large and airy one, overlooking the garden of the *Palais Royale*, neatly, but not handsomely furnished, with a few engravings upon the walls, and an extensive bookcase in one corner. In a huge easy chair, at one side of the fire-place, buried in cushions almost, sat the venerable Abbé. His body seemed frail and light, and his face was pale and haggard, as if he had been long unwell. The head was disproportionately large, with the brain protruding into the forehead, and pressing the chin down upon the breast. As he was placed against the light, we did not at first distinguish his features, but when he moved half round, I remarked that they were exceedingly expressive—full of benevolence and intellect, but very sad. It is possible that disease might have given this dejected and melancholy appearance to his noble face, but my impression was, that it was his habitual look. Men of genius who think much, and whose lives are a struggle for the good of men, nearly always acquire this plaintive and serious expression. The woes of mankind write themselves in their countenances.

Lamennais's voice was low and failing, but sympathetic to an unusual degree. His feeling seemed to tremble along the words, as they fell from his lips, like the waves of heat through the air. Old as he seemed to be from his gray hair, wrinkled face, and feeble body, his manner was as fresh and enthusiastic as that of a boy. He had lost none of his interest in the current events of the day, and spoke of contemporary individuals as well as things, with all the earnestness of one who had yet many years to live in the midst of the controversy. Any one who remembers the late Dr. Channing, as he looked and talked towards the close of his life, will have a pretty faithful image of Lamennais before him, with the exception that Lamennais was a far more impulsive and lively person than Dr. Channing.

He began his talk with us by expressing his general admiration of the United States, qualifying the sentiment, however, with the remark, that the American people were still in a youthful or infantile condition, and that they ought not to mistake the characteristics of a transitional period, for those of their maturity. Their sensitiveness to the criticism of foreigners was their weakest point, and was, as they would see, by reflecting on it, a contemptible want of self-respect. What could all the criticism of all the world do against a nation so grand in itself and with such glorious promises. Ought the lion to care for the buzz of a gadfly, or the eagle heed the chidings of a wren? Besides, that criticism was most of it good, was intended for the good of the Americans, had already done them some good, and they ought, like true men, to be glad to be told of their fault. My friend rather coincided with this view, though I thought myself that the opinion of our sensitiveness was rather exaggerated in Europe, but said nothing, as I wished to get at other topics.

"What of the Revolution?" I asked, "and how is it affected by the *Coup d' Etat* of Louis Napoleon?" It was then some two months after the blow of December. "The Revolution," he replied, "can never be suppressed. The late reactions have been feeding it with fuel. How soon it may break out, no one knows—such things are not to be calculated—but when it does come, it will make sure work. It will not stop half-way, as in 1848; it will be sweeping and final. I have lived through three revolutions in France—was a boy born during the first, but remember it well; was a close observer in 1830, and an active worker in '48—and my impression is, that the programme of the old revolution was the only wise one. The aristocracy must be put out of the way. Nothing is to be expected of them; they are thieves and murderers, and like other criminals, should be executed. I once thought otherwise; I thought that the ruling classes could be won over to justice and gradual improvement of society, but I am now persuaded that they cannot. They are radically, entirely, at heart opposed to the people, will never yield, and must be set aside. Democracy and aristocracy cannot exist together; one must conquer, and the other must die. When the revolution comes, then, there will be no temporizing, no compromises. The republic will be supreme or nothing."

"But do you not think," said one of us, "that this frank expression of extreme opinions—this open proclamation of death to the aristocrats, is what frightens many timid men away from republicanism, which they confound with rabid socialism, and so go over to the other side?"

"It may," answered the Abbé, "but republicanism is socialism; it is the government of the whole people by themselves and for themselves—and whatever differences there may be in the modes of practically getting at the result, the principle is the same. No doubt there is a great deal of nonsense uttered in socialist books—there is in all books—but they who oppose the republic because they dread socialism are no friends to the republic. It is a mere excuse for their cowardice."

"But," I interrupted, "there is this distinction between republicans and socialists, the former would leave the people to accomplish their well-being, by voluntary efforts and combinations; the latter hope to do the same thing, through the government. The former, therefore, train the whole of society to self-dependence and control; while the latter still leave them children. Socialism, in this aspect, is only an inverted absolutism—is power directed towards the good of the masses, instead of the good of the monarch—while republicanism is the denial of all power save that which springs spontaneously out of the self-development of the people."

Lamennais partly admitted the justice of this view, but defended himself on the ground, that in Europe society had been so long in the leading-strings of government, that it was an easier step to socialistic than to mere republican democracy—a fallacy which runs through the theories of nearly all the Continental reforms, and which will vitiate every attempt that they shall make at a social reconstruction. Kossuth, however, is better informed, and fully perceives the necessity of local self-government to every construction of a state.

Lamennais, then, spoke of men—was vehement, of course, against the bloody usurpation of Louis Napoleon, but had still a secret hope that he would by and by throw him on the side of the people. He would at any rate gradually kill off all the leaders of legitimacy, and leave himself only to be disposed of by the democrats. An enemy more to be dreaded than Napoleon was Cavaignac—a hard, cruel, impassive soldier, who had ordered men, women, and children to be butchered in Algiers, and who defeated the revolution by turning the army against the movement in June. He was a traitor to the republic, and would betray to the end every noble and generous cause with which he was entrusted. As for Proudhon, he was an impracticable, a good fellow, sagacious, able, and not to be conquered, but an eccentricity,—incapable of acting and thinking with others—and full of individual conceits. Emile de Girardin was somewhat slippery in his principles, but a man of prodigious acuteness and power. Victor Hugo was sound to the core, and Ledru Rollin was a reliable man; but Lamartine, you see what he is! Lamennais's sketches of character were graphic and amusing, and given at great length, but I only recall now the net result of what he said. He seemed to be personally embittered against Cavaignac, and scarcely did him justice.

"Is it possible to see George Sand?" I asked, when he replied, "She does not now live in Paris; but she has just been here, preparatory to going to Louis Napoleon to intercede for an old friend. You must have met her upon the stairs!" Ah! how mortified I was to find that I had been so near to that most extraordinary woman of the age, without knowing it, and had missed the opportunity of a personal interview. Lamennais spoke of her with discrimination, but with great kindness.

We continued the conversation for some time, and when we rose to retire, the old man pressed our hands warmly, and said, "Adieu, gentlemen; we shall never meet again." His words were prophetic, for he died on the 28th of February last. It is said, that in his will he disinherited all those relatives who had taken part in suppressing the insurrection of June, and that he ordered that his body should be taken directly from his house to the cemetery of *Pere la Chaise*, without stopping at any church. He steadily refused any religious conferences up to the hour of his death, and was only accompanied to his last resting-place by Béranger, Garnier Pages, Barbet, and a few others of his old friends, surrounded by a guard of policemen and well-armed soldiers. "So perished," says one of the English letter-writers, "this unreclaimed infidel." Infidel! Oh! Bobus, where learned you that? He, whose whole life was a martyrdom for the truths of the Gospel, whose inmost heart was saturated with their spirit, will have another judgment in that world whither he has gone! He may not have thought on all things, as you do, or as your clergyman does; but he was a sincere, true man, penetrated to the last fibre with Christ's religion, and, thank Heaven, will not be damned on your testimony.

Lamennais's writings, besides those we have already mentioned, were numerous;* that they were effective we know, because they always secured him the hostility of the governments, and sometimes a year in prison; but his fame will chiefly rest on the *Paroles d'un Croyant*, the *Livre du Peuple*, and the *Esquisse d'une Philosophie*. The former have a charm in the style, which will cause them to be read after the controversies to which they relate, have subsided. Nor will their sentiments be soon forgotten, for they are allied with the noblest aspirations of the popular heart. Their glowing eloquence, with that deep undertone of sadness, will make them memorable for a long time. They sink into the emotional nature of every reader, like the wild plaintive strains of the windharp, and melt and subdue his mind, though they may not carry him away, like more impulsive and trumpet blasts.

The latter book to which we have referred, the "Sketch of a Philosophy," is Lamennais's most ambitious attempt, but not in all respects his happiest. It is a comprehensive view of the universe, abounding in subtle distinctions, and rigorous thoughts, but yet, like all the other universal systems that one reads, constrained, mechanical, and unsatisfactory. It evinces, however, profound learning on the part of the author—a rare power of generalization, and the tenderest sensibility to whatever is poetical and grand in the aspects of life.—*Putnam's Magazine for May.*

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* His principal works are, besides those we have already mentioned, "Critical Discussions on Religion and Philosophy," "Modern Slavery," "Amschaspands and Darvands," "The Past and Future of the People," "Voluntary Servitude," "A Voice from the Prison," and "A New Translation of the Gospels, with Notes and Reflections."

The following letter, which was published recently in a Southern newspaper, may be considered as a "first rate notice" of a popular periodical, and is valuable evidence on the question of "Who are our great men?" It is as good as *Punch*, with the added advantage of being a *bona fide* occurrence:

157 Broadway, New York,
March 16th, 1844.

C. F. Tobin, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* Your name has been proposed as a suitable one to occupy a place in our "Portraits and Memoirs of Eminent Americans" now living, of which several volumes have been already published. This great work has been received with much favour everywhere, and contains many of the first names in the country. For further information of its general scope and plan, I beg to refer you to a circular herewith sent. Our portraits are engraved on steel, by the first artists, so that the likenesses are true and life-like representations of their originals, possessing greater value to the subjects and their friends than the most costly painting.

You are respectfully solicited to occupy a place in the pages of this work. Should your consent afford us the opportunity of thus giving to the world a true and permanent record of your life and features, please send me your likeness (a good daguerreotype of the same size of our portraits is best), so that it may be handed over to our engravers.

Please cause to be sent to me also, a memoir of yourself, or such facts as will enable me to prepare it; and I will not forget to say, that the facts for the sketch should be fully and accurately given.

I hope you will send both the daguerreotype and memoir at your earliest convenience, as we have a volume in progress and wish to avoid delay. Hoping to hear from you, I am yours, truly,

John Livingston.

Dear Sir: The above communication reached me last week, and in replication, I beg leave to state that if I have ever done anything worthy of the immortality your magazine is likely to confer upon me, I am not conscious of it. However, as true merit is always modest, it may be to that virtue that I owe my ignorance, at all events (and I am anxious the world at large should know it), I have not sought fame, but fame has sought me, as Alexander Smith, the poet would say.

"Fame! Fame! next grandest word of God!"

In taking a retrospect of my early days, I can discover nothing worthy of record, unless it be the stealing a few watermelons at school, for which I was beaten with many stripes, or the riding of a few quarter races, for which I received an occasional and solitary ginger cake, or adventures of similar import.

At 17 I ran away from my venerable old Guardian, the Rev. Hansford Dade Duncan (long life to him), and vamosed to the great, far West, where I flourished for a short time, and a short time only, and upon returning I lost all my money upon a game vulgarly called "poker" (of which, of course you know nothing), upon one of the boats of the Alabama river. This was about the time the Ben Franklin bursted, and killed so many, and had I not been standing near the stern of the vessel, you would never have had the opportunity of handing my name, fac-simile, character, and adventures down to an eager posterity in the columns of your justly celebrated magazine.

I returned to my own, my native land, fundless, and perhaps somewhat seedy in appearance, and run for 1st Lieutenant in a distinguished militia company, but was unfortunately beaten, by the loss of one vote, by my worthy competitor.

In the year of our Lord 1849, my illustrious friend Thomas D. Condy, gave me the office of Assistant Deputy United States Marshal for the District of Barnwell, and, while taking the Census, I killed one horse and another ran away and broke my buggy, upon which occasion, I rode my horse bare-backed 14 miles in 40 minutes, of which fact Col. B. H. Brown is a living witness.

After I had concluded this herculean undertaking, a man calling himself "C. Frank Powell," wrote me from Washington that if I would forward a certain amount of money to him, he would prosecute my claims for an increase of pay sufficient to cover these immense disasters, but I grieve to say that from the time I sent the money, I have not heard a word from the aforesaid and never to be forgotten C. Frank Powell, he probably having gone to parts unknown. However, I still entertain strong hopes of seeing his distinguished name fac-simile in your widely circulated magazine.

Last year I ran for Tax Collector in this important Township, and I was beaten so badly by a base combination, of which I was wholly unconscious until a few moments before the closing of the polls, that I have not since entirely recovered my equanimity. As a salvo, however, to this disaster, and just at this crisis, my distinguished but benighted friend, the Hon. James Campbell, the Post Master General, gave me the Post-office at this place, the duties of which, I may without vanity say, I have discharged to the *complete and entire* satisfaction of the *whole* community.

My friends, anxious to secure for me the distinguished honour you have so politely tendered, as a reward for my various and arduous services, are now busily engaged in raising a subscription for the purpose of defraying the expenses attendant upon this momentous affair. I allude to the engraving of my portrait. They have already appointed a committee to secure the services of a competent artist for all the absorbing occasion, and as soon as the picture is completed, I will forward it to your address.

Permit me to express the hope that you will delay the publication of the next number of your magazine until it makes its advent.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of the distinguished consideration with which I remain, dear sir, your grateful and ob't servant.

C. F. Tobin, Postmaster,
At Barnwell, C H., S. C.

John Livingston, Esq., 157 Broadway, N. Y.

A NUT FOR BOSTONIANS.

Judging merely from the style, the subjoined ballad, which is furnished to the *Evening Post* from the original, and, it must be admitted, rather unsightly manuscript, certainly bears the marks of a high antiquity. Three of the stanzas, however, are so obviously modern interpolations, that we have indicated the fact by enclosing them in brackets. To suit the convenience of our readers, we have also, to some extent, modernised the spelling and phraseology of the ballad, though enough remains unchanged to give the reader an idea of its antique simplicity. Were it not for an allusion (an insertion, doubtless, of recent origin,) in the second stanza, it might, perhaps, be inferred, that Mrs. Otis, the author of "The Barclays of Boston," is indebted to this curious literary relic for much of the plot and materials of her widely-circulated novel. But of this we express no opinion, leaving it to the reader to decide the question for himself. There certainly is a remarkable similarity, in some points, between the two productions, which will be, possibly, the better appreciated, if we prefix to the poetical effusion a brief analysis of the prose work, with which a correspondent has been kind enough to favour us.—Eds. Eve. Post.

"In Mrs. Otis's story, 'The Barclays of Boston,' there are three principal characters, Georgiana Barclay, Gerald Sanderson and Julian Seaton, the latter being music-teacher to Gerald. Seaton, falling in love with Georgiana, and fearing lest his suit should be rejected on account of his poverty, introduced himself to that young lady under the name of his pupil (whom he knows to have no acquaintance with her), and finally succeeds in marrying her without revealing the deception.

"Immediately after the marriage is solemnized, he bids her farewell, and sails for foreign parts to seek his fortune, with the understanding, that she, meanwhile, shall keep the matter secret. This she does for some time; but, by-and-bye, her anxiety and self-reproach for entering into so important a relation without the consent of her parents, and her indignation at his neglect to correspond with her, induce her to inform them that she is married to Mr. Gerald Sanderson. When, however, that innocent young man is confronted with her, she discovers her mistake.

"Gerald, on the other hand, is affected, on his acquaintance, not only with a love for her (which she, by the way, reciprocates), but with the melancholy conviction that he is the author of her misfortune. His tender conscience suggests, that his studious and recluse habits, in keeping him from general society, had enabled the pretender to marry the unfortunate girl, without danger of detection, under his own name. To remedy the consequences of his offence, he offers Georgiana his hand, which she, in spite of the wishes of her parents declines.

"After some years, the pretended Gerald Sanderson returns in a dying condition, desiring an interview with his wife, which she refuses on the ground that her affection has been transferred to the real Gerald, whereupon the former individual naturally and properly dies. The coast is now clear for her marriage with Gerald Sanderson. Both parties love each other, Gerald, indeed, declaring that he will marry no one else if not Georgiana; her parents urge it upon her, yet in accordance with what she considers her duty to those relatives, she decides upon disobliging them, and again refuses the hand of Gerald. Thus ends the story."

A Ballad of Boston,

Wherein is contained ye history of ye fair Georgiana, together with ye lamentable fate of her two lovers, Julian Seaton and Gerald Sanderson:

PART I.

O listen, ladies, to my lay,
O listen one and all,
While I of lovers three do tell,
What did to them befall.

Young Seaton lived in Boston town,
A town well known to fame—
If Mrs. Otis tells ye truth,
Who eke lives in ye same.

There was another nice young man,
He was both tall and thin—
Whom this same Julian Seaton taught
To play ye violin.

A bashful boy; he Gerald hight,
Full well he loved his books—
And in his garret hid himself,
For fear of woman's looks.

In Tremont street young Seaton spied
Sweet Georgiana's form—
Her peerless face upon that day
Did work him mightie harm.

For on her cheek together bloomed
Ye lillie and ye rose,
And like ye rising sun, her eyes,
They did themselves unclose.

His povertie did him constraine,
To take, O foul design!
Ye name of Gerald Sanderson,
Ye Gerald genuine.

He brought to her ye first Mayflower,
Which in ye woods might be,
And eke from out ye withered leaves,
Ye pale anemone.

[And as she walked ye Boston Mall.
Like any Boston woman,
For her gallant to follow her
Was not a thing un-Common.]

He placed ye boquet in her hand,
And on his bended knee,
Did swear no flower did ever blow
Was half so fair as she.

[She tossed her golden locks in scorn—
"Rise, sir," quoth she, "and travel!"
"Nay, dearest, till my prayer is heard,
My knees shall press this gravel."]

Alas! that I should now unfolde
That couple's rueful fate;
Next day, as man and wife, they stood
Before ye magistrate.

Ah, woful wighte and woful maid,
Ah, marriage sad and rash!
For, in the pocket of his vest,
He found but little cash.

And Gerald, when ye magistrate
Was paid his marriage fee,
Thought, since he'd gone it blind so long,
He now must go *to sea*.

He left his wife, who did full long
Her secret nuptials mourn;
But finally she told her pa,
How she was all forlorn.

"Cheer up," the father said, "I'll bring
Your husband to your side;
It is our bashful neighbour who
Has chosen you his bride."

But when that hermit from his books,
Ye Gerald genuine,
Was dragged before her, in amaze,
Quoth he, "She's none of mine."

"I tell you, pa, my Gerald's gone,
And, I'm sure, this man aint
The husband I contracted for."—
Of course she then did faint.

Whereat ye Gerald genuine
Did sorely feel ye shame;
And for ye damsel's miseries
He said, he was to blame.

He wept, since, had he known before
This maid, ye vile Seaton
Could not have given her ye name
Of Gerald Sanderson.

Then did he offer her his hand,
Her Gerald for to be;—
"Nay, I'll not take you while I have
A Gerald out at sea."

PART II.

(In the interval, several years are supposed to have elapsed.)

One gustie day, a ship afire
Escaping from the rocks
Of Boston bay, a storm did blow
Among ye wharves and docks.

From off ye burning deck to seek
The dwelling of his fair,
Ye long lost Seaton leaps to find
A hotter welcome there.

[For when her pa did his return
To Georgiana herald,
She said, "I much prefer a man
Whose christian name is Gerald."]

Whereby in Seaton's ear a flea
Was put—a pain eke in his side;
Ye which did lay him on his bed
Until he up and died.

Her parents now to her declare
That since death hath removed
Her faithless spouse, she ought to wed
Ye Gerald whom she loved.

And since he vows he loves but her,
How could she now refuse
To let a swain so constant wear
Her absent husband's shoes.

"No, pa," quoth she, "though Gerald be
Ye nicest man of men,
Yet duty to yourself requires,
A widow I remain.

"For when I wedded young Seaton,
To you and ma unknown,
I did commit a grievous sin,
Ye shame of which I own.

"One marriage without your consent
Ought surely to suffice;
Then how can you beseech me, pa,
To disobey you twice?"

Ye portly pa put on his specs—
He could not trust his eyes,
That they did look upon a girl
Who was so wondrous wise.

Next morning, Gerald, by a rope,
Did Neptune's purpose foil,
And, hanging from an apple tree,
Shook off this mortal coil.

But Georgiana thought, to him
It made small difference.
Since in his life, as in his death,
She held him in suspense.

REMARKABLE PREDICTIONS.

For one prediction that comes true, many hundreds fail, of which we never hear. Many a fond mother predicts a professorship, or judgeship, or bishopric, for a favourite son, who, nevertheless, slinks through the world among the crowd of unknown people. For all that, sundry remarkable predictions have at various times been uttered, which have become true, and yet nothing miraculous has been attributed to them.

Sylla said of Cæsar, when he pardoned him at the earnest entreaty of his friends,—"You wish his pardon—I consent; but know, that this young man, whose life you so eagerly plead for, will prove the most deadly enemy of the party which you and I have defended. There is in Cæsar more than a Marius." The prediction was realized.

Thomas Aquinas was so unusually simple and reserved in conversation, that his fellow-students regarded him as a very mediocre person, and jocularly called him *The dumb ox of Sicily* His master, Albert, not knowing himself what to think, took occasion one day before a large assemblage to interrogate him on very profound questions, to which the disciple replied with so penetrating a sagacity, that Albert turned towards the youths who surrounded his chair, and said—"You call brother Thomas a *dumb ox*, but be assured that one day the noise of his doctrines will be heard all over the world."

Erasmus wrote a composition at twelve years old, which was read by a learned friend of Hegins; and he was so struck by its merit, that he called the youth to him, and said, scanning him keenly, "My boy, you will one day be a great man."

"Sully's father predicted of him, when only twelve years old, that he would one day be great by reason of his courage and his virtues. Had not the prophesy come true, we had never heard of it. But Sully was early put in the way of promotion, and once in the road, the rest is comparatively easy.

Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, early predicted the future greatness of Sir Thomas More. Pointing to the boy one day, he said to those about him: "That youth will one day be the ornament of England."

Cardinal Wolsey, though a butcher's son, had an early presentiment of his future great eminence. He used to say, that if he could but once set foot at court, he would soon introduce himself there. And scarcely had he obtained admission at court, the possessor of an humble benefice, than he did not hesitate to say, that "henceforth there was no favour to which he dared not aspire"

At eighteen, Gondi, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, composed certain reminiscences of early studies, on reading which, Richelieu exclaimed, "Here's a dangerous fellow."

Marshal Turenne, in his early youth, prophetically foretold the distinction in arms to which he would rise. But, doubtless, there are few youths who enter the army, full of ardour and courage, who do not predict for themselves the career of a hero and a conqueror.

Milton, in his early writings, foreshadowed his great poem, then not matured in his mind. He declared his intention, many years before he commenced his task, of writing some great poem for posterity, "which the world could not willingly let die."

Bossuet, when a youth, was presented to a number of prelates by one of the bishops of his church, who said of him, when he had left, "That young man who has just gone forth, will be one of the greatest luminaries of the church."

Mazarin, early predicted the brilliant career of Louis XIV. He said of him, "He has in him stuff for four kings;" and at another time, "He may take the road a little later than others, but he will go much further."

One day, a mason, named Barbé, said to Madame de Maintenon, who was at that time the wife of Scarron, "After much trouble, a great king will love you; you will reign; but, although at the summit of favour, it will be of no benefit to you." He added some remarkable details, which appeared to cause her some emotion. Her friends rallied her about the prediction, when the conjurer said to them, with the air of a man confident of the truth of what he said, "You will be glad to kiss the hem of her garment then, instead of amusing yourself at her expense."

On the other hand, Louis XIV. one day observed to the Rochefoucauld and the Duc de Crequi, "Astrology is altogether false. I had my horoscope drawn in Italy; and they told me that after having lived a long time, I would fall in love with an old woman, and love her to the end of my days. Is there the least likelihood of that?" And so saying, he burst into laughing. But this did not, nevertheless, hinder him from marrying Madame de Maintenon, when she was fifty years old! So that both the predictions of the mason and of the Italian conjuror came true at last.

When Voltaire was engaged in the study of classical learning, the father Lejay was once very much irritated by the insolence of his repartees, and taking him by the collar, shook him roughly, saying, "Wretched youth! you will some day be the standard of deism in France." Father Palu, Voltaire's confessor, did not less correctly divine the future career of his young penitent when he said of him "This boy is devoured by a thirst for celebrity."

Sterne has told an anecdote of what happened to him once at Halifax. The schoolmaster had got the ceiling newly whitewashed, and the mischievous boy mounting the steps almost before the job was completed, daubed with a brush on the ceiling the words, in capital letters, Lau. Sterne, that he would not have the name effaced, seeing that Sterne was a boy of genius, and certain to make a reputation in the world.

Let us conclude by adopting the thought of Goethe: "Our desires are the presentiments of the faculties which lie within us—the precursors of those things which we are capable of performing. That which we would be, and that which we desire, present themselves to our imagination, about us and in the future: we prove our aspiration after an object which we already secretly possess. It is thus that an intense anticipation transforms a real possibility into an imaginary reality. When such a tendency is decided in us, at each stage of our development a portion of our primitive desire accomplishes itself, under favourable circumstances, by direct means; and, in unfavourable circumstances, by some more circuitous route, from which, however, we never fail to reach the straight road again."—*London Leader.*

Madame de Maintenon.—To beauty and a pleasing figure, Madame de Maintenon united manners combining reserve with graceful ease. Her conversation was natural and flowing, witty and epigrammatic; drawing its resources but little from others; sustained by an extensive knowledge of books, of the world, and of various conditions of society, always appropriate, and expressive of cheerfulness and good sense. Her intellect was singularly clear. Devoid of imagination, impassive, and unimpressive, her judgement was combined with so great a spirit of calculating prudence, that it assumed the character of habitual selfishness. No one ever more deliberately considered the effect of her actions upon others, no one more invariably kept her own interest in view. For this she was humble, for she was proud, demure, flattering, insinuating, or complaisant. Of love and friendship she was incapable. Her friendship was simply the association of the intellect, her love never rose beyond esteem. Here devotion was sincere, but devotion alone is not morality; she was anxious to be worthy of heaven, and yet to possess the world.—*Gentleman's Magazine.*

Cross Purposes.—The royal family (1761) run loose about the world, and people do not know how to treat them, nor they how to be treated. I have just heard no bad story of the Duke of York. When he was at Southampton, in the summer, there was a clergyman in the neighbourhood with two very handsome daughters. He had soon wind of them, and dropped in for some reason or other, came again and again, and grew familiar enough to cut a bone of their mutton. At last he said to the father, "Miss —— leads a mighty confined life here, always at home; why can't you let one of them go and take an airing now and then with me in my chaise?" "Ah! sir," says the parson, "do but look at them—a couple of hale, fresh-coloured, hearty wenches. They need no airing; thye are well enough. But there is their mother, poor woman, has been in a declining way many years; if your royal highness would give her an airing now and then it would be doing us a great kindness indeed!"—*Letters of Gray.*